

THE BARMUL PASS on the MAHÁNADÍ in the Tributary States

ORISSA:

OR THE VICISSITUDES OF AN INDIAN PROVINCE UNDER NATIVE AND BRITISH RULE;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BEING THE SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES OF

THE ANNALS OF RURAL BENGAL.

NOW, AND FOR US, IT IS A TIME TO HELLENIZE, AND TO PRAISE KNOWING, FOR WE HAVE HEBRAIZED TOO MUCH, AND HAVE OVER-VALUED DOING BUT THE HABITS AND DISCIPLINE RECEIVED FROM HEBRAISM REMAIN FOR OUR RACE AN ETERNAL POSSESSION; AND, AS HUMANITY IS CONSTITUTED, ONE MUST NEVER ASSIGN THEM THE SECOND RANK TO-DAY, WITHOUT BEING READY TO RESTORE THEM TO THE FIRST RANK TO-MORROW.

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE ANNALS OF RURAL BENGAL.

VOLUME I. 4th Ed.

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CHAPTER I. Introduction CHAPTER II. State of the Country when it passed under British Rule. CHAPTER III. Ethnical Elements of the Lowland Population of Bengal. CHAPTER IV. The Aboriginal Hill-Men. CHAPTER V. The Company's First Attempts at Rural Administration. CHAPTER VI. The Company as a Rural Manufacturer. CHAPTER VII. Conclusion.—APPENDICES: Bengal in 1772, portrayed by Warren Hastings; The Great Famine of 1770 described by Eye-witnesses, Family Chronicles; Santáli Grammar; Administrative Statistics, etc.

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A DISSERTATION ON THE NON-ARYAN RACES OF INDIA.

(*TAKEN FROM THE NON-ARYAN DICTIONARY.*)

ORISSA:

BY

W. W. HUNTER.

VOLUME I.

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15, WATERLOO PLACE.
1872.

TO MY MOTHER

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

VOL. II.

ERRATA.

Several errors, not the fault of the Printer, have crept into this work, which was for the most part printed at home while the author was in India. These I hope to have the opportunity of removing in a second edition. Meanwhile, as the following omission and misprint introduce confusion into the calculations to which they respectively belong, they may be corrected by the reader.

Vol. I. p. 72. In footnote 105, *read* $\frac{50,000 \times 7 \times 24 \times 60 \times 60}{5280 \times 5280 \times 450} = 2.4$ cubic feet, or allowing for the gradual rise of the lake to its maximum area of 450 square miles, say three cubic feet.

Vol. II. App. II. p. 56, line 35—*for* 1864, *read* 1804.

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VOLUME II.

APPENDICES:

BEING A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF ORISSA, DISTRICT BY DISTRICT.

TO facilitate reference to the Original Records, certain letters are, when necessary, appended to quotations from Manuscripts, indicating where the Documents may be found. The following are the contractions used :—

G.R.—Records of the Ganjám District in Madras.
P.R.—Records of the Purí District in Orissa.
C.R.—Records of the Cattack District in Orissa.
B.R.—Records of the Balasor District in Orissa.
M.R.—Records of the Midnapur District in Bengal.
O.R.—Commissioner of Orissa's Records at Cattack.
S.P.—Survey Papers and Maps; Calcutta and District Offices.
I.R.—Records of the Irrigation Department; Calcutta and Madras.
B.G.—Bengal Government Records; Secretariat, Calcutta.
B.R.R.—Board of Revenue's Records; Calcutta.
P.W.D.—Records of Public Works Department; Calcutta.
P.I.R.—Records of Public Instruction; Midnapur and Calcutta.
H.D.—Records of Home Department of Government of India.
Where the Archives of Native Families are used, the source is sufficiently indicated in the Text.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS book endeavours to delineate the inner life of an Indian Province. It tries to bring home to the imagination and the understanding of Englishmen, a state of society and forms of human existence far removed from their own. The narrative is embellished by no splendid historical characters, nor does it possess the interest which belongs to striking crimes. To the world's call-roll of heroes it will add not one name. The people of whom it treats have fought no great battle for human liberty, nor have they succeeded even in the more primary task of subduing the forces of nature to the control of man. To them the world stands indebted for not a single discovery which augments the comforts or mitigates the calamities of life. Even in literature—the peculiar glory of the Indian race—they have won no conspicuous triumph. They have written no famous epic; they have struck out no separate school of philosophy; they have elaborated no new system of law.

Yet if I have in any degree done justice to my materials, these pages can well dispense with the plots and scenic effects of history. Nature, long grown cold and inert in Europe, here toils as wildly at her primeval labour, as if the work of Creation still lay before her.

She discloses her ancient secrets of land-making, and admits us as spectators to the miracle of the Third Day. We see the dry earth in the act of standing forth from the water, peering above the surface of once deep lakes, and pushing itself out as blunt headlands into the sea. Nor does she hide her more terrible aspect, destroying and reproducing with an equal balance; wrenching great rivers from their courses; and, by the same series of acts, providing fresh land for a thousand new homesteads, and perpetrating tragedies as appalling as the desolation of the Palatinate. Within the single province of Orissa, she has brought together, as in a great museum, specimens of all her handicrafts, from the half-formed amphibious region around the river-mouths, to the chaos of primitive rock which walls out the seaboard from the inner table-land.

Nor is the province less rich in organic remains. Upon the delta, and among the mountains which rise behind it, we come upon endless strata of races, dynasties, and creeds, from the latest alluvial deposit of Bengalis, with their soft Hinduism, to the aboriginal peoples and their hard angular faith. In Europe, the primeval tribes have disappeared from the range of observation into the twilight of hypothesis. Scholars stand like Hamlet in the Elsinore Grave-yard, and see the bones of forgotten nations thrown up at their feet. They muse over the hollow skull, measure the facial angles, and labour to reconstruct the lost speech. But the tongueless jaw and empty socket yield to them much the same conclusion as they did to the moralizing Prince: that here has been a fine revolution, if we had but the trick to know it. Orissa exhibits a profusion of such primitive races, not in a fossil state, but warm and breathing, living apart in

their own communities, amid a world of suggestive types and links that have elsewhere disappeared. The aboriginal peoples of India have, as it were, been hidden away in hill-caves, until the great ethnical movements subsided, beneath which they would otherwise have been submerged.

I have dwelt at unusual length on the historical aspects of the principal Indian creeds. For the history of religion is, in India, the history of the people. The ethnical revolutions which brought in new ruling races, ceased in very ancient times; and, during the last 1500 years, the rise and fall of the Orissa dynasties have been connected not with tribal movements, but with religious reformations. Each new line of kings represents a new era of worship and of spiritual belief. Its elevation to power takes place amid the birth-throes of a fresh popular creed; its decay is contemporaneous with the decline of the national religion; and its fall is consummated amid the extinction of the old rites and the coming in of new. The reader may perhaps think that I have given too frequent prominence to the religious side of Orissa history. But I have done so, from a firm belief that it forms the key to the right understanding of the people. Throughout all Northern India, not less than on the remote Orissa shore, dynastic revolutions and religious reformations have for centuries gone hand in hand. Buddhism and Hinduism, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs, represent a conflict of creeds not less than a struggle of races; and these same religious upheavals, in the more temperate form which the British power imposes alike on Kuka and Wahábi, remain one of the great problems of Indian government at the present day.

For it is with the present rather than with the past that this book has to do. The English found India strewn with the wrecks of Asiatic despotisms; and out of the drift-wood which the tempest threw up, they had to build the fabric of a civilised government. How these political Crusoes hewed their log into a sea-worthy ship, is a story which touches the honour of England to have one day truly written. Every year of the past century has rendered the rulers more alive to the inadequacies of their administration. Scarcely had they put down armed violence and rapine,—a task which no Native Power had permanently succeeded in,—than they found themselves confronted with a necessity for a great apparatus of civil government, such as no Native Power had ever attempted to supply. As property accumulated, new and costly machinery had to be organized for protecting it; and as personal rights developed, Courts had to be multiplied for ascertaining and enforcing them. Government ceased to be what, during at least two centuries, it had been in India,—a mere engine for raising revenue. And now that justice has been brought very near to the people, new functions of government, formerly unrealized, are pressing upon the conscience of the rulers. Philosophers believed that they had found the stationary type of human society in the arrested mental activity and low physical tone of the Indian races. But within the past twenty years, a vast system of State Education has quickened the intellectual torpor into new forms of life; and a costly sanitary organization is battling in every Province with the endemics which for ages preyed upon the public health. What were once deemed direct visitations of God are now brought under the control of man. Famines, floods, droughts,

and pestilence are no longer permitted to perform their ancient function of checking the pressure of the population on the soil; and Government has taken upon itself to step in between its subjects and the ordinary dealings of Providence. The isolation of each District, which formerly intensified every local scarcity into a famine, has been broken through. Railways, roads, and canals have welded the severed Provinces of India into a homogeneous whole, mobilized the resources of each, and increased the efficiency of the national harvest in a greater degree than if we had suddenly doubled the productiveness of the soil. During the past few years, the scope and responsibilities of Government have still further extended. It was reserved for the wise and brave man whose loss England is at this moment deploring, to grapple with the most terrible enemy of a tropical empire; and, by a comprehensive scheme for the control and the husbanding of the water supply, to remove death by starvation from among the ordinary risks of Indian peasant life.

As Government became more effective, it grew more costly. Each new function which it found itself compelled to undertake has involved an additional outlay of money. Yet any attempt at unwonted taxation among Asiatic races is beset with extreme peril; and the Company early realized that one of the first fiscal duties of its servants was the study of the people. No sooner had it, in 1769, appointed English officers for the rural administration of Bengal, than it issued an elaborate circular to them, calling for a historical and statistical account of the country. 'The form of the ancient constitution of the Province compared with the present;' 'an account of its possessors or rulers, the order of their

succession, and the peculiar customs or privileges which they or their people have established or enjoyed;' a description of the land tenures, with a report on the commercial capabilities of the country, and the best means of developing its resources:[1] these were the points to be taken up. But the daily pressure of administrative work leaves the Indian officer small leisure or inclination for such researches; and repeated injunctions from head-quarters, while producing several isolated memoirs of great value, failed to elicit any comprehensive result.

During the next forty years, the want of a statistical survey made itself very keenly felt, and in 1807 the Company had no alternative but to organize special machinery for the work.[2] The Governor-General himself laid out the plan. He appointed an eminent scholar,[3] with an efficient staff, to draw up 'a topographical account of each District,' its history, antiquities, and climate. An investigation of the inhabitants, their numbers, religious sects, and material condition was to follow. The natural productions of the country then pass under review; its fisheries, forests, and mines; with its crops, land-tenures, modes of tillage, facilities for irrigation, and safeguards against floods. The list of subjects ends with an elaborate enumeration of salient points connected with the arts, manufactures, and commerce of Bengal.[4] The instructions were well conceived; no short-sighted haste was allowed to cramp the operations; and the best man was selected for the work. Yet the net result was, that,

[1] Proceedings of the President and Select Committee, dated 16th Aug. 1769.

[2] Court of Directors to Government at Fort-William, dated 7th Jan. 1807, with subsequent Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council.

[3] Dr. Buchanan.

[4] Instructions of the Governor-General in Council, dated 11th Sept. 1807.

after seven years, £30,000 were said to have been spent, and not one page had been rendered available to the Government or the public. A quarter of a century later, nine District Accounts were disinterred from the mass of papers left behind. There were, in fact, three defects in the scheme, any one of which would amount to shipwreck in such an undertaking. In the first place, it was not done upon a scale. No attempt seems to have been made to estimate how much space could be profitably allotted to each subject and District, or to calculate how many volumes it is possible for a man to write, or for the public to read, within the ordinary span of life. In the second place, the materials already existing in a scattered form were left unutilized, and the whole work was begun over again for each District. The third defect arose from the absence of any system for rendering the results of the survey available, District by District, as they were obtained.

This costly failure discouraged further attempts on a large scale. A period of isolated efforts followed,[5] and it was not till 1855 that the Court of Directors again issued instructions for anything like a Statistical Survey of India.

[5] These may be classed under two heads: (1) Works by private individuals more or less assisted by the Court of Directors; (2) Official or Departmental Papers. Among the former, the most valuable are Hamilton's East India Gazetteer (1817? and 1828); Mr. Masson's Investigations (1834-37); H. H. Wilson's copious and scholarly works; Bengal Guide and Agra Gazetteer (1841-42); Thornton's Gazetteer (1854-57 and 1862); Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India (1855); Surgeon-Major Balfour's Cyclopædia of India (1856), with its elaborate supplements; Mr. M. Martin's Eastern India, based upon the Buchanan MSS. (1838); and a long list of excellent memoirs scattered through the Journals of the Asiatic Societies. Among Official Papers, those by the District Medical Officers (1837-50), especially Dr. Taylor's Dacca and Dr. M'Cosh's Assam, deserve special notice; also General Cunningham's Archæological Works, with many excellent reports by the Revenue Survey Department, and, in Northern India, by the District Settlement Officers.

Meanwhile, the necessity for such a survey had constantly increased, and, about 1850, the Company endeavoured to have a comprehensive work drawn up, not in India, but at home. The result was Mr. Thornton's Gazetteer in four volumes, a marvel of patient research, but unfortunately based upon materials, many of which had become obsolete, and others absolutely misleading.[6] Accordingly, in 1855, the Court addressed the Government of India, with a view to supplementing the work by local inquiries, such as might render it 'a faithful register of the state of the country as at present existing.' The task proved, however, to be a much more difficult one than had been anticipated. The next ten years yielded no practical result; and the subordinate governments in India, gradually diverging from the Court of Directors' scheme, struck out new plans for themselves.[7] In 1862 the Madras Government resolved upon a series of independent works, which should exhibit that Presidency, District by District, in minute detail.[8] Sir Richard Temple inaugurated similar operations in the Central Provinces, and more recently the local officers drew up a set of statistical reports for a part of Eastern Bengal.

The divergence which had thus taken place from the Court's plan of 1855 was accepted by the Secretary of State in 1867, and the Governor-General once more addressed the ten Local Administrations, requesting that an account of their territories might be drawn up, 'in

[6] Despatch of Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, No. 1 of 1855, Stat. Dept.

[7] In May 1861, the Government of India officially inquired what had been done, and circulated fresh interleaved copies of Mr. Thornton's work for correction by the local officers; but, excepting in the North-Western Provinces, without results.

[8] No. 591, dated 17th Mar. 1862, quoted Proceedings of Madras Government, 12th Aug. 1869. H. D.

accordance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.'[9] Various measures were set on foot, and, as on previous occasions, several works of great individual value were obtained. But again the want of organization threatened to deprive the undertaking of adequate results; and the Asiatic Society, with other public bodies, forcibly addressed Government on the subject. They pointed out that the absence of a uniform plan would not only depreciate the value of each local volume, but that, when the time came for working the whole into a comprehensive account of India, it would necessitate a large amount of the labour being 'gone over again *de novo*.'[10] Shortly afterwards, in 1869–70, the Governor-General in Council directed me to visit the ten Local Governments of India, with a view to my submitting a plan for utilizing the materials already collected, for prescribing the principles upon which the provincial compilations should in future be prepared, and for their ultimate consolidation into one comprehensive work.[11]

Exactly one century of inconclusive efforts had thus elapsed since the Bengal Government first endeavoured, in 1769, to obtain a Statistical Account of its territories. The truth is, that the Company never realized the magnitude of what they were asking for. The Indian Empire consists of ten separate Governments, who, with their Feudatory States, administer a territory of 1,556,836 square miles, and include about fifty different races,

[9] No. 1758, dated 19th Oct. 1867, Foreign Department.

[10] Council of Asiatic Society of Bengal to Government of India, dated 17th Feb. 1869. Government had also been addressed on the subject by the Statistical Committee in 1868, and by certain leading members of the Indian Mercantile Community, who strongly insisted on the practical necessity for such a work. H. D.

[11] Government of India to Government of Bengal, No. 3056, dated 3d July 1869. B. G.

speaking a great diversity of languages, and numbering 200,424,072 souls.[12] The Account of India, therefore, which from time to time has been so airily asked for, means a vast series of statistical operations and local inquiries spread over an area but slightly smaller than that of all Europe, excepting Russia; and among a population which falls short of the Berlin estimate in 1861 for all Europe, less Russia, by only 4½ millions. The single Government of Lower Bengal has a people more numerous, by about ten millions, than the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, and an area twice as great. Its territories extend over a quarter of a million of square miles, and present every diversity of men and manners, from the wild forest tribes of Orissa, whose women wear only a string of beads and two bunches of leaves, to the shrewd, wealthy, and highly cultivated inhabitants of its river districts and great cities. In Bengal, moreover, we find ourselves in the presence of a great conflict of parties, and are eye-witnesses of the throes and upheavals by which an ancient worn-out society emerges into a new order of things. To draw up a 'faithful'[13] account of such a country demands a union of philosophical reflection with minute local research, and the Provincial Government might well shrink from lightly entering into the work. 'In a Province so extensive as Bengal,' wrote the Lieutenant-Governor in 1869, 'with a newly added frontier, and a population of at least forty millions of many races and creeds, and representing interests so important, such temerity would only be risking the public money, and exposing Government to the chances of a conspicuous failure.'

[12] Annals of Indian Administration for 1869, vol. xiii. p. 5.
[13] Court of Directors' Despatch, No. 1 of 1855, Statistical Department.

This work forms the first-fruits of the new enterprise. It takes a single Province of Lower Bengal, with a population slightly greater than that of Scotland in 1861, and an area rather less, and tries to render an account of it, sufficiently exact for administrative purposes, and yet sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy the general reader. The main body of the book deals with matters of the deepest interest to all thinking Englishmen. It honestly endeavours to show what the real effects of English rule have been, and what are the difficulties and sources of anxiety which now beset it. For such views as it may express, I alone am responsible. It forms part of my private work, the 'Annals of Rural Bengal;' and while I have to thank the Indian Government for many facilities in continuing this rural history, I should add that it pretends to only such authority as it may be found intrinsically to merit. The second portion consists of systematic Statistical Accounts drawn up in my official capacity; and, for the convenience of the Indian public, printed at the end of the book in the form of Appendices. Taken together, the two parts exhibit my conception of a statistical and general account of an Indian Province.

For, during the century which elapsed, from 1769 to 1869, the scope and requirements of such an Account have greatly enlarged. The Company originally contemplated the undertaking from a purely official point of view. They felt it to be a matter of the first importance that their servants in India, and their controlling body at home, should possess a common source of really trustworthy information. Since the government passed to the Crown, this necessity has increased both in England and in India. In England, the controlling power has passed from the Court of Directors, a small body with a special

knowledge of India, to Parliament,—an assembly whose members have for the most part had no opportunity of studying Indian subjects. In India, the Company's servants accepted that country as their home, and usually remained a long time in the same District. Under the Crown, the new system of furlough tends to break up an Indian career into fragments of four years' service, disjoined by one year in England, and involves a number of short 'acting' appointments, whose incumbents are moved from place to place, without having time to learn the localities for themselves. To these officers, a statistical account of their District would be of great value; and, indeed, such a guide forms an indispensable complement to the changes in Indian service, which the modern facilities for frequent visits to Europe have brought about. Moreover, under the Crown, a new class of public servants has sprung up, whose existence the Company never contemplated. A very numerous body of professional men, engineers for railways, canals, and other public works, now come out to India, without any previous knowledge of the country, and, as labour-employers on a large scale, are brought into close and often difficult relations with the people. At present, they must find out everything for themselves; whereas, if they could only start with a knowledge of the District in which they have to work, a vast saving in temper, in time, and in public money would be annually effected.

The Company had to consider only its own servants; but the Queen's Government has to provide for a new and more important class in India, the English Public. The Indian revenues depend to some extent, and the safe increase of the Indian population depends to a very large extent, upon the application of English capital to

Indian enterprise. The people are not allowed to die at the old rate, Marhatta raids have ceased, epidemic diseases are trampled out by science, and famine has been deprived of its ancient edge. The population, no longer held back by the customary checks in an Asiatic country, presses more and more heavily on the land. English capital forms one of the most important agents by which this pressure may be diverted; and at this moment it is employing the surplus population of Western Bengal to reclaim the jungles of the North-east Frontier. No country ever stood in greater need of imported capital than India, in its present transition stage; yet there is scarcely any country or colony about which so little information exists, with a view to attracting foreign capital, and directing its employment. The history of tea-planting in Bengal from 1863 to 1866 is a narrative of capital hastily thrust into a country, without sufficient knowledge being accessible to ensure its safe and intelligent application. The English public have a right to demand accurate information regarding India. But, putting aside their claims, and looking at the question solely from the Indian point of view, it is of the utmost importance that English capital should be enlisted in easing the growing pressure of the Indian population on the land, and in rendering as painless as possible the transition from the purely agricultural state to those more complex forms of society on which India has now entered. An account of the country, done with adequate appreciation of its commercial capabilities, and in a spirit of accord with the mercantile public, will form an epoch in the removal of the obstacles which still exist between English capital and Indian enterprise.

Such an account will demand the patient industry

of many years.[14] A man would be deemed foolhardy who should attempt to give a historical and statistical account of Scotland in two volumes, such as I now devote to a province of about the same extent and population. Yet even this meagre scale is much more liberal than that on which the rest of Bengal must be done. It has been possible in the case of Orissa, only owing to the fact that, in such researches, a considerable interval must elapse between the issue of the circulars to the District Officers, calling for information, and the receipt of their replies. I can but express my unavailing regret that the Indian statesman, to whom I owe it that I have been enabled to undertake the work, should not have been spared to see the initial result. A long list of great measures during the past three years bears witness to the silent, strong sense of Lord Mayo, to his stedfast courage and immense powers of work. His character and policy will stand out in colossal lines upon the Indian history of our time; and, meanwhile, there is not one who worked under him, from the least to the greatest, who does not mourn as for a friend.

[14] Besides the gentlemen whose assistance I acknowledge in the course of the work, I would express my special obligations to His Highness the Mahárájá of Denkhánal; to Mr. T. Ravenshaw, Commissioner, and to Mr. Molony, formerly Acting Commissioner, of Orissa; to Colonel Thuillier, C.S.I., Surveyor-General of India, and Captain Murray, Assistant Surveyor-General; to Mr. W. Macpherson, Magistrate and Collector of Cattack; to Mr. J. Beames, Magistrate and Collector of Balasor; and to Mr. Walton, Magistrate and Collector of Puri. A large portion of my Statistical Account of Balasor is taken from Mr. Beames' official reports. For the botanical identifications of the *flora* which I collected in the Orissa Sundarbans, I have to thank the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.



CHAPTER II.

THE CHILKA LAKE.

AT sunrise on the 1st February 1870, my boat was punted across the line on the Chilká Lake, which forms the southern boundary of Orissa. A few days before I had landed at Gopálpur, an open, surf-beaten port in the northernmost district of Madras, consisting of half-a-dozen mercantile houses built upon the sandy ridges of the beach, with a distant background of peaked mountains,[1] and clustering little colonies of hills projected out upon the plain. Proceeding north-west by palanquin, I had passed through Ganjám, once a great river harbour, and the official and mercantile capital of the province, but desolated in 1815 by fever, and deserted alike by the governing body and by its native population and trade. Of its former magnificence scarcely a sign remains, except a few half-fallen mansions, with hovels swarming around their lower storeys and seeming to grow out of their ruins. Lofty pillared gateways stand about the rice-fields, leading nowhere, or, a more pregnant lesson to human vanity, are utilized as entrances to the peasant's thatched cottage.

At Ganjám I joined the Great North Road, and a few miles farther on began to ascend the watershed

[1] Among them Mahendragiri, 4923 feet high. Trigonometrical Survey.

which separates the river system of the Ganjám district from the Chilká Lake. It rises from a solitary rice country, where the children came trooping out of the hamlets to stare at my white face; while the cattle in the bullock carts took fright, and rushed down the embankments of the road, as my palanquin approached. The pass grew narrower as it rose beyond the range of cultivation, and the banyan trees had a ragged and battered look from half a century's exposure to the southern monsoon. Bamboo jungle laden with creepers next commenced to line the road, and before long its green masses had filled up the whole space between the converging hills. A wild peacock strutted along the wayside, daintily picking up his food, and spreading his tail in unconcerned pomp. At the top, the pass appeared to be little more than half a mile wide; but by the time I had reached it the sun had set. The northern descent was down a dark covered way of noble banyan trees, secured by the intervening hills from the dilapidations of the monsoon. From underneath their spreading branches came glimpses of mountains on either side, exaggerated by the twilight; and as night closed in, I began to catch the reflection of the canoe lights flashing on the Chilká Lake below.

The Chilká Lake is a shallow inland sea, situated in the extreme south-east corner of Orissa. A long strip of land, which for miles consists of nothing but a sandy ridge little more than two hundred yards wide, separates it from the ocean; and the roaring of the exterior unseen surf can be heard far across the lake. On the west it is walled in by lofty mountains, in some places descending perpendicularly upon its margin, and in others thrusting out gigantic arms and promontories of rock into the water. On the south it is bounded by the hilly water-



From a drawing by Mr. F. H. Pellew, C.S.

A SKETCH ON THE CHILKA.

shed, which forms the natural frontier between Orissa and Madras. To the northward it loses itself in endless shallows, sedgy banks, and islands just peeping above the surface, formed year by year from the silt which the great rivers bring down. A single narrow mouth, cut through the sandy ridge, connects it with the sea. Through this the tide comes rushing and storming against the outward currents; at certain seasons throwing itself up in pyramidal billows topped with spray, and looking like a boiling river in which no boat could live.

Thus hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, the Chilká spreads itself out into a pear-shaped expanse of water forty-four miles long, of which the northern half has a mean breadth of twenty miles, while the southern half tapers into an irregular curved point, and barely averages five miles wide.[2] Its smallest area is as nearly as possible the size of Huntingdonshire, being 344 square miles in the dry weather, and extending to about 450 in the rainy season.[3] Its average depth is from three to five feet, and scarcely anywhere exceeds six. The bed of the lake is a very few feet below the level of sea high water, although in some parts slightly below low-water mark.[4] The distant inner portions of the lake keep about two feet higher than the exterior ocean at all stages

[2] Statement F, forwarded with letter dated 6th June 1858 from the Superintendent of Embankments, Lower Provinces, to the Chief Engineer. I. D. R.

[3] MS. papers, exhibiting the results of the Cattack Revenue Survey, by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Thuillier. The Chilká Lake, in the dry weather, covers 220,436 acres 1 rood; Huntingdon, 229,544 acres. The Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, in letter No. 4470, dated 9th October 1858, para. 18, gives the area at 'about 350 miles.' Captain Harris assumes its area in time of flood to be about 450 square miles. Report, dated Cattack, 31st August 1859, para. 26. S. P. and I. D. R.

[4] Report of a Professional Tour of Inspection, by Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Cotton, dated Fort St. George, 12th July 1856, para. 78. G. R.

of the tide.[5] The neck which joins it to the sea is only a few hundred yards broad; so that the narrow tidal stream which rushes through it is speedily lost in the wide interior expanse, and produces a difference never greater than four feet between high and low water, and at times barely eighteen inches, while the tide outside rises and falls five feet.[6] It suffices, however, to keep the lake distinctly salt during the dry months from December to June. But once the rains have set in, and the rivers come pouring down upon its northern extremity, the sea-water is gradually pushed out, and the Chilká passes through various stages of brackishness into a fresh-water lake.

This changeable inland sea forms one of a series of lacustrine formations down the western shores of the Bay of Bengal. The strong monsoon and violent currents which sweep from the south during eight months of the year have thrown up ridges of sand, in some places rising into lofty yellow cliffs along the coast. An eternal war goes on between the rivers and the sea: the former struggling to find vent for their columns of water and silt; the latter repelling them with its sand-laden currents, and giving a northward bend to their estuaries as they enter the Bay.[7] Where the river has the complete mastery, it sweeps out to the ocean, scouring for itself a channel through the sand. When the forces are so equal as materially to counteract each other, a stagnation takes place, the sea depositing a bar outside the river-mouth,

[5] Reduced levels: Sea high water, springs, 47·21. Sea high water, neaps, 45·81. Sea low water, 42·08. Lake high water, 49·45. Lake low water, 45·08.

[6] Colonel F. C. Cotton's Professional Report, para. 83.

[7] I refer only to the rivers north of the point where the coast turns to the north-east and catches the full force of the monsoon, *i.e.* from the Godávarí northwards.

while the river pushes out its delta to right and left inside. There are therefore two sleepless artificers at work forming land out of water; the ocean which throws up its sand, and the rivers which bring down their silt. The land grows at the expense of the sea, and pushes itself forward in the shape of rounded promontories. Indeed, the Indian coast-line of the Bay of Bengal consists of nothing but a series of these blunt projections formed by the mouths of rivers, and separated by long, gently curving bays.[8]

It has been necessary to explain the growth of deltaic land in order to understand the formation of a deltaic lake. We have seen what results when the river gains a complete mastery over the ocean, and also when the forces are fairly balanced. But when the river comes down languid, or too widely diffused, the victory is with

[8] Dr. Keith Johnston's Map (scale, 70 miles to the inch) will suffice to show the more important of these promontories. The following list can easily be tested by the Sheet Atlas of the Surveyor-General of India (scale, 4 miles to the inch). Beginning at the point where the Bay turns to the north-east, there are (1) the rounded point formed by the mouths of the Krishná, with the Masulipatnam Bay between it and (2) the rounded projections formed by the mouths of the Godávarí; (3) the slight projection formed by the Bansadhará River at Kalingapatnam, beyond which a long curve stretches up to the Mahánadí, broken, however, by (4) a local projection formed by the river at Ganjám. The Orissa River-system forms a distinct series of such curves and points, of which the most important are: (5) the projections at the mouth of the Deví; (6) False Point, or the projection at the point of the Mahánadí; (7) Point Palmyras, or the great promontory formed by the united rivers which discharge themselves under the name of the Dhámrá. From Point Palmyras a long curve stretches up to the Gangetic Sundarbans, which are simply a deltaic projection on the grandest scale. This curve is broken, however, by a slight projection at the mouth of the Burabalang near Balasor, noticeable enough when I walked along the beach, but the result of too small a river to find expression upon a map on the scale of 4 miles to the inch. The curve really ends at the mouth of the Subanrekhá; but the vast discharge from the Hughly and the mouths of the Ganges, which give the Bay of Bengal its muddy colour for miles out to sea, has filled up the curve on the north-east side of the Subanrekhá, so that its projection merges in the general deltaic formation beyond.

the sea. The sand-laden tides and currents of the Bay throw up a beach across the mouth, 'which chokes the river and causes the formation of a lake behind it.'[9]

Orissa has formed one of the great battle-fields of this struggle between the rivers and the sea. It consists, as you will find from the map at the beginning of this volume, of an inland hill-country, with a strip of alluvial land lying between the mountains and the Bay of Bengal. At some period, infinitely remote as regards the world's history, yet still commemorated by a local proverb, and very recent if computed by the epochs of geology, the surf of the Bay used to lash against the foot of the hills. But from these hills two great river-systems issued, charged with tons of silt, which they deposited as soon as they emerged on the more equable levels beneath. During ages they have been patiently carrying their burden of sand and slime from the interior highlands, and making it into new land at the ocean's edge. The sea has thus been slowly pushed back, and a strip of alluvial country, 150 miles long by about 50 broad, has been formed.

It is this strip of country which constitutes the low-lands of Orissa. The direct channels carried down the largest share of the silt, and have projected themselves and their deposits boldly into the ocean. At the present day they enlarge their deltas every year at its expense. But the lesser channels, which turn off at a sharp angle to the south-east, not only secured less silt to make land of on their own account, but they had also less force to withstand the sand-depositing currents of the Bay. The

[9] De la Beche's Theory, cited para. 17 of letter No. 4470 from Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th October 1858. I. D. R.

work of land-making, therefore, has hung fire in the south-east corner of the delta; and instead of alluvial plains a few feet above the level of the ocean, we have the Chilká Lake.

Another influence has also been at work to impede the process of fluvial land-making in this part of Orissa. It will be seen from the map that the other portions of the delta always lie between two rivers or distributaries, and thus receive deposits of silt from the overflow of large streams on both sides. The south-east corner, however, receives silt only from one direction. For on its southern side, a spur of hills runs down upon the sea, and parts it from the adjoining river-system of the Ganjám district. It can get no silt from that direction; so that while every year sees new banks and islands emerge above the water where the rivers enter the north-east extremity of the Chilká, there is scarcely any silting up, nor any land-growth, on its mountainous southern shores.[10]

The Chilká Lake, therefore, may be regarded as a gulf of the original Bay of Bengal, lying between two promontories, and only partially filled up. On the south, a bold, barren spur of hills runs down to the Bay of Bengal. On the north, the land-making rivers have pushed out their rounded mouths and flat deltas into the ocean. Nor has the sea been idle, but, meeting and overmastering the languid river discharge that enters the Chilká, it

[10] It will be observed that the Chilká Lake lies at the innermost part of the coast-line curve between the deltaic promontories formed by the mouths of the Maháhnadí and the Rasakuliá River at Ganjám. According to the general principle, explained in a subsequent chapter on the River-system of Orissa, such a curve marks the lowest level between deltaic rivers. The Chilká Lake is, in fact, an extreme instance of such a low level. An *extreme instance*, because it only gets silt from one side instead of from both, and the deposit has not yet sufficed to raise its bed above the level of the sea and produce solid land.

has joined the two promontories with a bar of sand, and thus formed a lake. At this moment both agencies are busily at work. We can stand by and witness the delicate processes of land-making from the river silt at the north-east end of the lake, while the bar-building sea visibly plies its trade across its mouth. I find, from old documents, that a century ago the neck of land was only half a mile to a mile broad, in places where it is now two. On the other hand, the opening in the bar was a mile wide in 1780, and had to 'be crossed in large boats.'[11] Forty years later this opening is described as choked up.[12] Shortly before 1825 an artificial mouth had to be cut; and although it also rapidly began to silt up, it remained, as late as 1837, more than three times the breadth that it is now.[13] The villagers inform me that it still grows narrower every year. Indeed, so steady a workman is the ocean, that the difficulty in maintaining an outlet from the Chilká forms one of the chief obstacles to utilizing the lake as an escapement for the floods that desolate the delta. Engineers report that, although it would be easy and cheap to cut a channel, it would be very costly and difficult to keep it open, and that each successive mouth would speedily choke up and 'share the fate of its predecessor.'[14]

In offering this explanation of the Chilká, based upon the agencies visibly at work throughout the Orissa

[11] MS. Itinerary furnished to the troops. Proceedings of Ganjám Factory, December 1780. G. R.

[12] Stirling's Account of Orissa Proper, 1825. Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. page 187, quarto.

[13] Survey measurements and maps (one mile to the inch), 1838–42.

[14] Captain Harris, Superintendent of Cattack River; Second Report (1858), para. 30; also Third Report (1859), para. 23, etc. Letter No. 269 from Superintendent of Geological Survey to Chief Engineer, L. P., 16 May 1859, para. 2.

delta, I ought not to conceal that another theory has also been put forward. Our early revenue officers in Purí district believed that the Chilká had once been solid land. A native tradition relates how, about the year of our Lord 318, a strange race[15] came sailing across the sea, and cast anchor off the holy city of Purí, hoping to surprise the temple, with its store of jewels, and treasure-house of costly oblations. But the priests, having for days beforehand seen quantities of litter from the horses and elephants drifting ashore, fled with the precious image, and left an empty city to the invaders. The disappointed general, Red-arm[16] by name, enraged at the tell-tale tide, advanced in battle array to punish the ocean. The sea receded deceitfully for a couple of miles, and then suddenly surging in upon the presumptuous foreigners, swallowed them up. At the same time it flooded a great part of the Purí district, and formed the Chilká Lake.[17]

I am not aware that any of the professional engineers who have visited Orissa have seriously adopted this view. Unless the bed of the Chilká was at one time four feet higher than at present, it never could have been solid ground, and we have no reason to believe that it ever was higher, or that it has ever suffered a depression by earthquake or otherwise. So far from the sea breaking in upon the land, the land has been constantly pushing itself out into the sea.

Instead, therefore, of the Chilká being an example of a Verdronken Land, like the drowned tract of South Beveland so graphically described by Motley,[18] I think the

[15] The Yavanas. [16] Rakta-Báhu.
[17] Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 263.
[18] Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, vol. ii. p. 402, London 1864.

evidence leaves no alternative but to regard it as a corner of the original Orissa Bay, in which, for specified reasons, the process of land-making has proceeded more slowly than in its other parts. The process is going on rapidly at this moment, and within a not incalculable period the Chilká, if left to itself, will fill up. Meanwhile it presents a very typical feature of an Indian delta,—a feature which is reproduced in the Kolair Lake, 350 miles down the coast, and on a still larger scale by the Bákarganj shallows and swamps, in the great land-workshop amid the mouths of the Ganges.

Around this vast shallow basin dwell communities of men, as diverse in their nature and history as are the geological formations which hem it in. On the western side, where the mountains overhang the lake, wild races pick up a livelihood as best they can, in a region of bamboo and endless thorn jungle, hunting, wood-cutting, waging man's primeval warfare against the wild beasts, and cultivating their highland valleys with a fitful tillage. Hamlets of fishers and salt-makers dot the eastern strip between the Chilká and the sea, and a sparse agricultural population gambles at getting a rice crop from the temporarily dried-up shallows of the lake. At the south-western end, villages of boatmen thrive by transporting the surplus crops of Orissa to the Ganjám shore, in flat-bottomed, coffin-shaped canoes. At the opposite extremity, where the rivers pour into the lake from the north, skilled agricultural communities live behind dykes and embankments, reaping rich crops, but every fifth or sixth year swept away, with their cattle and their homesteads, by the floods, and fortunate if they can float on a rice stack or thatched roof till the waters subside.



From a drawing by Mr. F. H. Pellew, C.S.

A CREEK ON THE CHILKA.

I found the Government pinnace waiting my arrival at the southern end of the lake,—a two-masted boat, drawing about twenty-five inches of water, and fitted up with a sitting-room, bed-room, and bath-room. On the shore stands a solitary pile of white buildings, erected half a century ago by the Collector of Ganjám, as a means of finding work for the people during a famine; in style something like a villa on the Lago Maggiore, but upon the grand Indian scale. The lights of the little town of Rambhá, with its flotilla of grain canoes, glittered on the beach, and a clashing of cymbals gave notice that the priest was offering his evening oblation of peas, oil, and butter to the local god. But by nine o'clock everything was silent, except the occasional splash of a fish, or the cry of a startled water-fowl on the lake; while a single monotonous voice droned forth a story from the Rámáyana upon the receding shore.

Next morning I found that we had punted only a few miles during the night; and at daybreak, as the sails were loosened to the morning breeze, we crossed the geographical line that separates Madras from Orissa. Behind us, the frontier watershed threw out a precipitous peninsula into the lake, and rocky islands dotted its surface: 'huge rounded blocks of highly indurated porphyritic granite, containing large crystals of felspar, tossed and piled on each other in the wildest confusion.'[19] On the west, the steep hills of Bánpur, the first territory on the Orissa side of the frontier, lined the lake, with a strip of rich rice land in front. At intervals, projecting spurs descended sheer into the water, with deep bays and fertile valleys between. Of these valleys, some run far inland between the ridges of hills, receiving their torrents

[19] Stirling. As. Res. xv. 188.

and streamlets, and producing crops of the fine golden-spiked variety of rice.[20]

Bánpur, which literally means the Land of the Bowmen, used to be a source of much disquietude to the Company's factors in the adjoining province. As late as 1848, a native writer describes it, and its background of hill-country, as 'wild, inaccessible places, inhabited by a set of dangerous people, such as Kandhs, Savars, and other barbarians, who are bad subjects, and not trustworthy.'[21] During the last century it was the haunt of fugitives and banditti; and the district[22] on the Ganjám side of the boundary line was in a scarcely more settled state. The records of an expedition against it, exactly one hundred years ago, bring out in strong relief that inglorious but obstinate warfare which the Company's servants had to wage on every frontier of their dominions.

The country was covered with forts; and while one detachment of our troops forced a perilous passage through the ambuscades between the mountains and the lake, another party proceeded by boats from the Ganjám end. Among the incidents of the march, we find 'a pass formed by a hedge of bamboos, and a parapet wall running from the foot of the hills to the water-side, being three or four hundred yards in length;' 'a deep ditch scarcely fordable, cut in the rock, and defended by two small ports;' the baggage cut off; the ammunition captured, but fortunately retaken; and the troops 'greatly pestered by parties firing on them the whole

[20] Swarna-kánta-dhán, popularly called Soná-khil.

[21] History of Purí, by Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 65. Cattack Mission Press, 1848.

[22] Kálíkot, meaning the Stronghold of Kálí, the goddess of destruction.

way.'[23] At that time, the hill-country was one vast thicket; and even fifty years later, so cheap was fuel, that a cart-load of bamboos, which would now cost about 8s. 6d., could be bought in Bánpur, and conveyed to the other side of the lake for a total charge of one shilling.[24] For centuries the chiefs of Bánpur have claimed the right annually to present the timber for the sacred car of Jagannáth, and to receive the left-off head-dress of the deity in return.[25]

Half-way across the lake is Nalbana, literally the Reed Forest, an island about five miles in circumference, and scarcely anywhere rising more than a few inches above the level of the water. Immense flocks of wild-fowl floated around its shores, and fearlessly awaited my approach. When at length they rose, they produced a loud rattling noise like platoon-firing, caused by the flapping of their wings on the water as they started upwards. The island was one unbroken expanse of high grasses, without a single habitation, or tillage of any sort. But hundreds of coffin-shaped canoes clustered around its margin, waiting for the bundles of sedge which parties of thatchers from the mainland were busily cutting.

On the eastern side of the lake lie the islands of Párikud, which have silted up behind, and are now partially joined to, the narrow ridge of land that separates the Chilká from the sea. At some places they emerge almost imperceptibly from the water; at others, they spread out in well-raised rice-fields. Their north-western

[23] Letter from the Collector of Ganjám, dated 18th November 1769, etc. G. R.

[24] Letter from the Salt Agent for Purí, dated 25th April 1819, para. 3. The same would now cost from 8s. to 9s. at Purí. P. R.

[25] History of Purí, by Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 42.

extremity[26] slopes gracefully down to the lake, like an English park, dotted with fine trees, and backed by noble masses of foliage, from which one might expect the gables of an Elizabethan mansion to peep out. They form the hereditary domain of a Rájá, who claims descent from the ancient warrior caste of Northern India. When we first hear of the country, a hundred years ago, it seems to have been miserably poor. Not a single grain-selling village could be found along the high road, and the troops who had to pass that way were warned to bring everything for themselves, even down to a supply of firewood, and of the earthen cooking vessels which are to be bought in every village in Bengal.[27]

The people were as ignorant as they were poor, and marvellous stories still survive in this isolated region as to what was then going on in the outside world. In 1803, when our army marched up the coast to oust the Marhattás and assume charge of the country, the various chiefs and landholders on the route came out to welcome it, and received presents or grants of land in return. The Collector of Ganjám had put 145,000 rupees into the military chest[28] on the morning the force left his jurisdiction, and the commissariat paid liberally for everything by the way. Never was an invading force so popular. The Rájá of Párikud alone held aloof. He had heard, on credible authority, that the invaders were people with pig faces, and huge drooping ears, in which they wrapped their bodies at night, as it was very cold in their country. He believed

[26] Gurbai.

[27] Letter from J. Greenwell, Esq., to the Hon. Warren Hastings, Governor-general, etc., dated Cattack, 30th November 1780. G. R.

[28] Besides 12,000 rupees to other departments. Letters dated September 4 and 17, 1803. G. R.

it to be an irruption of the legendary demon races of Southern India, and wisely kept quiet while the storm swept past.

Even at the present day, the struggle for life continues a hard one throughout the domain of Párikud. Towards the sea the sandy ridges grow nothing. Towards the Chilká Lake the alluvial flats yield rich rice crops, if there is plenty of rain, and yet no floods. Otherwise there is more intense distress in Párikud than in any other part of Orissa. The people live perpetually on the verge of famine. There are no fresh-water streams, nor any good tanks, and the husbandmen have to make up for their absence by well-irrigation, fresh water being found in plenty at the depth of twenty-five feet, and in some places at fifteen. The sandy ridges produce the blue convolvulus in great profusion, and another ground-creeper with a thick pulpy leaf, on which herds of antelopes feed. Along the shore are little fishing communities, who get a livelihood by means of trawl-nets, one end being pulled along by a man on the shore, and the other end by a comrade up to his waist in the surf. I have tried the sport, but the fish caught in this way are miserably small. A more profitable trade is dragging with the great net at sea. Two large boats go out a couple of miles, and trawl towards the beach with very strong nets about twenty feet deep.

The fishing communities, and especially the hamlets of boatmen, are Telinga settlements from the Madras coast. They speak a different language, observe different customs, and worship different gods from those of the agricultural population. And here I may notice, as I shall not again have to recur to the subject, that the boating villages along the whole coast, up to the Deví

river, and even above it, consist of similar Telinga colonies from the south. They are indistinct remnants of the aboriginal races; and although their separate origin is forgotten, they are excluded from the Hindu commonwealth. They disregard a thousand customs and scruples religiously observed by the Hindus. There is a little village of them[29] on the sands of Purí, which, although situated within the holy precincts, is denied an entrance into the great national temple of Jagannáth.

The agricultural population of Párikud are a very different people. The Sanskrit race has impressed its polity so strongly upon every corner of India, excepting the hill tracts, that the whole continent presents but one type; and even these isolated swamps and silt banks of Párikud exhibit an almost perfect picture of the primitive Aryan commonwealth. A Rájá is at the head, and exercises unquestioned hereditary control. His domains extend over seventy square miles, divided into 54 communities of agriculturists, whose homesteads, 900 in number, cluster together into villages — each village having a perfectly defined extent of land attached to it. In these rural communes the distinctions of caste are rigidly preserved, and the gods are worshipped according to the ancient rites. The husbandmen pay rent, not according to the quality of their fields, but according to their social rank.[30] Colonies of Bráhmans have been induced to settle on the domain at low quit-rents, and pay only from 3½d. to 5d. an acre for good rice land,[31] for which the common herd pays about 6s.[32] Inter-

[29] Nuliás.
[30] Letter from J. C. Geddes, Esq., Collector of Purí, to the Commissioner of Orissa, No. 730, dated 11th February 1869, para. 8. P. R.
[31] From Rs. 1. 3. 5 to Rs. 2. 8. 9 per bátí of 8 acres.
[32] Rs. 23. 14. 6 per bátí of 8 acres.

mediate between the Bráhmans and the ordinary husbandmen are other two privileged classes, which practically represent the Rájá's connections or officers, and the military aristocracy of the domain.[33] These gentlemen pay as high as 1s. 3d. an acre for the same land that the Bráhmans would get for 3½d., and for which the common peasant would have to pay 6s. I should mention, however, that these are the old theoretical rates. The famine of 1866 has levelled down the ancient land-system of Orissa in this as in many other respects; and practically, the rents paid in kind since the famine are less unequal.

As in other Hindu estates, the struggle between custom and competition constantly goes on. Nominally, the rate for each quality of land is fixed; but practically the Rájá, by levying various assessments calculated upon the rent, is able by degrees to extract an increased revenue from the soil. There is therefore a tendency to maintain the customary rates, constantly in conflict with an opposite tendency to raise these rates to the full market value of the land. Whether these two influences work together harmoniously, depends a great deal upon the mutual moderation of landlord and tenant. It is only fair to add, while other districts have been convulsed by agrarian feuds, that in this remote corner of Bengal disturbances are unknown.

The rent, properly so called, is now calculated in Párikud at one-half of the gross produce of the fields.

[33] The three tenures are called: (1) Dán-tanki, or the lands held by Bráhmans, and literally meaning the Gift Rupees; (2) Datta-tanki, the lands held by Khandaits, etc., the rates being Rs. 5 per bátí of 8 acres; (3) Símá-tanki, or Hetá-tanki, the rates being from Rs. 1. 5. 3 to Rs. 4. 2. 5 per 8 acres. These rates are taken from the admirable report of Mr. Collector Geddes above cited, dated 11th February 1869, para. 10. P. R.

Formerly it was paid in money; but since the general disorganization of Orissa by the famine of 1866, it has had to be paid in kind. The assessment is made either by appraisement of the standing crops in November, or else by actual measurement and division on the threshing-floor in January. The former system is most popular. Two officials appointed by the Rájá, watched over by deputies, at least two in number, on the part of the husbandmen, measure the fields, and estimate the weight of the crops. If the cultivator is a Bráhman, or of either of the two other privileged classes, the rent is calculated at one-eighth of the produce.[34] If he belongs to the common herd, the Rájá's share is estimated, as we have seen above, at one-half, and theoretically amounts to three-fifths.[35] Practically, I find that out of a crop valued at £455, the Rájá's share is £250 from the 342 peasant families on his estate who pay the full rent. According to the Sanskrit code, Bráhmans were to live content on just enough to suffice for their bodily wants; and the privileged tenants in Párikud are even at this day only allowed enough land at the one-eighth rent for their own maintenance. If such a tenant sublets, he has to pay an additional rate[36] of nominally 5d. an acre, but practically varying according to his status in the three privileged classes.

Besides the Rájá's share of the crops, the husbandmen have also to pay a homestead rent for their

[34] Called Chauthí, or one-fourth, apparently because it amounts to only one-fourth of the full assessment levied from the ordinary cultivator.

[35] This assessment is called Bhág, or division. Nominally it is $\frac{40}{80}$ of the crop; but $\frac{8}{80}$ are added, under the name of Nikala, to protect the Rájá from arithmetical losses in the calculation, making a total of $\frac{48}{80}$, or three-fifths.

[36] Called Tripani. Of the total rent paid by these three privileged classes, amounting to £110, 14s., about one-sixth, or £19, 12s. 7d., is paid as Tripani.

dwellings.[37] The rate varies from a little over 1s. to 2s. 6d. per 10 feet of frontage.

These, and the petty cesses noted below,[38] constitute the regular demand of the Rájá; but unless Párikud greatly differs from all other parts of India, there are a number of unrecognised rates and aids, which the people contribute more or less willingly on occasions such as a marriage in the Rájá's family, or the celebration of his funeral rites.

The soil which the husbandman thus cultivates at a rent of half his crop is a fine sandy loam, very easy to till, but liable to severe droughts. If there is just enough of moisture, he reaps a splendid crop. But if the rain holds off a little too long, everything is burned up, while a few extra inches swamp the whole country, and it is exposed to even more ruinous inundations of salt water. To the east there is the sea, with its cyclones and tidal waves. To the west is the Chilká, with uncontrolled rivers pouring into its north-western end, and forcing down the main body of its own brackish water upon the Párikud rice-fields. In 1866, out of 7650 acres assessed as under cultivation, 6900 were devastated by the floods.[39] There is only one harvest a year in Párikud, the late rice

[37] Called Chándina, or Chándna-dihi, rising from Rs. 0.9.7 to Rs. 1.3.1½ per seven cubits. It is paid by 224 separate householders, and yields to the Rájá £46, 13s. 4d. a year.

[38]

Assessment on spring crops, .	£5	0	8
Charge for collection, .	8	3	0
Sale of surplus idol food, . .	4	7	6
Payment for the long grass and thatching materials on Nalbana,	30	0	0
Fisheries,	141	0	1
Total, .	£188	11	3

Report of Mr. Collector Geddes, dated 11th February 1869, para 15. P. R.

[39] Report of the Committee to investigate the effects of the inundations in the Province of Orissa, A.D. 1866, pp. 91, 92. I. R.

crop, sown in June or July, and reaped in November or December. No cotton or oil-seeds are grown; and a few fields of peas and pulse, yielding a total rent of barely £5 a year throughout the whole domain, constitute the entire spring crop.

Beneath the agricultural population are various low-castes, such as wine-sellers, washermen, fowlers, skinners, eaters of forbidden meats, who live their lives as apart from the respectable husbandmen as the Jews did in the Ghetto of Rome.

We have therefore, in this remotest corner of Bengal, all the elements of a typical Aryan community of Sanskrit times. The Rájá claims, and is admitted by his people, to be of the military caste,[40] to which, according to the ancient land-law of Northern India, the prince ought to belong. His little capital is dignified by the title of Fort, and he holds his domain from the British Government on the old military tenure, paying no rent, but theoretically liable for his quota of swordsmen at the call of his paramount. This tenure, as we shall see, is the one on which the greater part of Orissa is still held. In most cases the military service has been commuted by our Government for a small money tribute; but Párikud, and the four other estates on the strip of land between the Chilká and the sea, are altogether exempt from payment of land revenue.[41] The domain enjoys, therefore, all the advantages of British administration, without contributing anything to its cost, except the Government

[40] Kshattriya. The same descent is claimed by almost all the Rájás of the Garhjáts and tributary states of Orissa, but is disallowed by the Bráhman genealogists, who admit the pedigree only in the case of the Rájá of Khúrdhá.

[41] These estates are Bajrakot, Málud, Párikud, Mánikpatná, and Andhári. I have selected Párikud for detailed description, as it is the most important of the five, and gives a good idea of the whole.

duty upon the salt that the people consume, and an occasional income tax.

The Rájás, in the exercise of their unquestioned hereditary power, have made rent-free grants of lands to members of their family, and given fertile estates for the worship of the gods. At the present moment, eighteen of the fifty-four rural communes of Párikud are thus assigned away. Next come the holders at low rents, consisting for the most part of Bráhmans, and to a certain extent representing the original Aryan conquerors or settlers. This class, like the whole ancient Aryan community, is divided into three ranks, holding their land on three different scales of rent, but all of them paying a great deal less than the common herd—the Súdras of Sanskrit times. They consider themselves a landed aristocracy, and, if Bráhmans, leave the manual work of tillage to be done by low-caste hired labourers. Even down to the minutest point the ancient theory is maintained, and a Bráhman is not supposed to have more land than he requires for his own subsistence. If he does, he must pay a higher rent for it.

The ordinary husbandman holds the next grade in the rural commonwealth. He pays the highest rent that can be drawn from the soil, and his inferiority to the lightly assessed classes above him is a social fact which he never dreams of disputing. Officers who have studied the matter closely, believe it to be an ethnical fact as well; and one of the ablest district administrators in Bengal has briefly described it to me as 'a fiscal recognition of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements of the population.'[42] Without insisting on any hard and fast line, it is certainly the case that the upper class, holding at low

[42] Mr. J. C. Geddes, now on furlough in England.

quit-rents, is composed of Bráhmans and other unmistakeable Aryans, while the heavily taxed cultivators consist of castes beyond the pale of pure Aryan descent. They occupy a position half-way between the privileged ranks and the semi-aboriginal low-castes. Although holding at a rack-rent, they have practically a right of occupancy as long as they pay the customary rates. No leases are given, and the Rájá and the cultivators alike declare themselves averse to their introduction.[43] They prefer to go on in the old fashion, dividing their crops by appraisement at harvest-time; and they believe that by this plan they share the good fortunes or the mishaps of the agricultural year between landlord and tenant in the most equitable manner.

Another point in which Párikud represents the typical Sanskrit commonwealth, is the abundance of waste land. When surveyed twenty years ago, the measurement gave a total of 69·94 square miles, or 44,764 acres, of which only 18,560 were cultivated, while 26,204 were returned as waste. Of the cultivated part a large proportion is held without payment by the Rájá's connections and the ministers of religion. In 1866 only 7650 acres actually paid rent as under cultivation, the rest being waste or held rent-free. At the beginning of that year the population amounted to 11,179. During the next eighteen months 5375 perished in the famine, and 1250 emigrated. In 1867 only 4519 remained; and although they have now increased to between 5000 and 6000 souls, the cultivation, which reached 7650 acres in 1866, amounted to only 5056 in 1869.

It will be readily understood that a property thus heavily weighted by rent-free tenures and low quit-rents

[43] Report of Mr. Collector Geddes, before cited, para. 21. P. R.

yields but little to its owner. Of the whole domain, but a very small proportion is cultivated at all; and of the fifty-four agricultural communes, eighteen are held by the ministers of religion and the connections or officers of the Rájá. These probably represent one-half of the really good land on the estate. They pay nothing except a contribution of food for the idols, the surplus of which is sold to travellers or pilgrims, and fetches to the Rájá about £4 a year. In the remaining twenty-six communes only 5056 acres are now under tillage, the total number of cultivating families being 986.[44] But of these 986, only one-third, or 342, pay the full customary rate of one-half the crop; while the remaining two-thirds belong to the high-caste privileged husbandmen, holding at nominal quit-rents, and paying barely one-eighth of the produce of their fields to the Rájá. The agricultural rent-roll barely amounts to £463 from a surveyed area of 44,764 acres; and including all other sources of income, the whole domain of Párikud, with its seventy square miles, yields to the Rájá a gross revenue of only £698 per annum.[45]

Of this sum, however, about two-thirds appear to be swallowed up by charges upon debt or cost of collection, and the Income-tax Office assesses the total nett income of the Rájá at £240. As the estates are now under the direct management of the Collector, this sum probably represents the full amount. The famine of

[44] Of whom only 224 are separately entered in the Rájá's account books as payers of homestead rent.

[45]

Value of rent paid in kind,	£361	10	0
Money rents, ...	101	14	2
Homestead rent ('Chándina'),	46	12	4
Miscellaneous items shown in note 38, .	188	11	3
Total,	£698	7	9

1866 put a finishing stroke to the fortunes of Párikud. Although burdened with debt himself, and unable to draw a rupee of rent from the desolated fields, the Rájá exerted himself in a very noble way to save his people. He emerged from those terrible eighteen months beggared; but the Government had not looked on unmoved, and the ruined Rájá woke up one morning to find himself a Companion of the Star of India, and with a large Treasury advance at his disposal, to free him from the grasp of usury. With his concurrence, the Collector temporarily took charge of his estates, and in a few years it is hoped that they will be returned unencumbered, with their nett rental greatly increased by the more exact management which British officers have introduced. Insignificant as £240 a year may sound to an English country gentleman, it is a fine income in Orissa, where unhusked rice, the wheat of that part of the world, sells on the field at about twelve pounds for a penny. As a matter of fact, I find only thirteen landed proprietors returned as having a larger revenue in all Purí district, with its population of more than half a million of souls.

The Rájá meanwhile has become the improving landlord of the district, lives on half his income, and raises enough food for himself and his family on a Home-farm. He hopes to get a large proportion of the waste land cultivated by colonies of immigrant husbandmen from other estates, whom he may entice to settle on his domain, and is full of schemes for repairing broken-down embankments, and reclaiming virgin soil from the bed of the Chilká Lake. There are miles of pasturage which could be protected at a very small cost, and brought under tillage. For an outlay of £30, the Rájá believed

the other day that he could reclaim 1200 acres of the most fertile land, and add £300, or nearly one-half, to his gross annual revenue.[46]

The only manufacture of Párikud is salt. There are two processes of making it; one by solar evaporation, the other by boiling in the usual manner.[47] The former was the only salt made in Párikud under the native dynasties, and the British Government found great difficulty in introducing the latter in 1815.[48] As Párikud and the adjoining coast to the south are the chief places where solar salt is now made, the process may be fitly described here. The Hindu reckons salt made by the sun to be more pure than that evaporated by the artifices of man. It alone enters the temples, and throughout the whole of Orissa the respectable classes will not use the other sort. Liverpool salt comes out at very low rates, often indeed as ballast, to Calcutta. In the districts to the east of the Hughly, it has driven the native manufacture out of the market. But the orthodox province of Orissa will have nothing to say to an article made by the impure hands of the infidel. The solar salt has taken a firm hold on the religious feelings of the people. Their whole life is one round of observances in meats and drinks and making clean of platters, and the use of solar salt is an important aid to the salvation of their souls.

The manufacture begins at the commencement of the hot season in the latter half of March. In the first place, a little canal is dug from the Chilká Lake, with sets of broad shallow tanks on either side. These sets of tanks

[46] Report of Mr. Collector Geddes, before quoted, para. 21.

[47] The name of the solar salt is Karkach. Artificially evaporated salt is called Pángá.

[48] Report from Collector, dated 23d March 1818. P. R.

run out at right angles from the canal in rows of four. Each tank is 75 feet square, by from 18 inches to 3 feet deep. On the first day of the manufacture, the brackish water of the lake is admitted by the canal into the first tank of each of the sets of rows. Here it stands for twenty-four hours; and as the depth of this first series of tanks is only 18 inches, evaporation goes on very rapidly. Next morning the brine is transferred from tank No. 1 to tank No. 2 in each of the sets of rows. Tank No. 2 is 24 inches deep, and each successive one deepens by 6 inches till the brine reaches No. 4, which is 3 feet deep. The water stands for a day in each, gradually thickening as it evaporates. On the fourth day it is transferred to tank No. 4; and on the morning of the fifth, some of the brine is ladled from that tank into an adjoining network of very shallow pools, each pool being 5 feet square by only 6 inches deep.

Here it stands during the intense heat of the day. In the afternoon the manufacture is complete, and the salt is raked out of the network of shallow pools.

The same process goes on, with slight variations, from day to day. Every morning water is let into tank No. 1 of each of the sets of rows, from the canal; while the brine gradually progresses from one tank to another, in the various stages of evaporation. A constant supply of brine is thus kept up in tank No. 4, and a portion of it is daily ladled into the network of shallow pools, in which the finishing stage of evaporation takes place.

A Párikud salt-field, therefore, consists of a little canal from the Chilká, with 'workings,' if I may use a mining term, diverging from the canal at right angles upon either side. Each working is composed of a row

of four tanks and a network of shallow pools, and is managed by from three to five men, who are paid by piecework, and earn a little over twopence a day each, or six shillings a month. The out-turn is about fifteen tons the first week; and if the manufacture goes on without interruption for a fortnight, it may amount to as much as eighty tons for the fifteen days. But it is somewhat of a gambling trade. A single shower of rain puts a stop to the whole process, the tanks having to be emptied out, and the work begun again *de novo.*[49]

The total cost of salt made in this way is 8d. a hundredweight, or 13s. 4d. a ton.[50] Government, when it kept the manufacture in its own hand, used to allow the workmen 10d. a hundredweight, or 16s. 8d. a ton. The duty is 8s. 8d. a hundredweight, or £8, 13s. 4d. a ton, which, added to the cost of manufacture, makes a total of £9, 6s. 8d. a ton. Under the present system the Government does not itself make salt, but has transferred the trade to licensed manufacturers, charging them with the duty upon the amount actually made, in the

[49] The 'workings' are called Abrás; the tanks as a whole, Kiáris. Tank No. 1, Kánchá; tank No. 2, Gándi; tank No. 3, Sijhá; tank No. 4, Páchelá; the rake, which consists of a bamboo handle attached to the middle of a square slice of wood, Pálká; the small network of pools is also called Kiári; the raised mounds on which the salt is temporarily heaped, Kándis, or Bowris; and the permanent warehouses, Golás.

[50] The manufacturer's estimate per maund is as follows:—

	Ánás.	Pies.
Cost of labour,	2	6
Land rent, . .	0	6
Excavation of canal, etc.,	0	6
Part cost of workmen, .	0	3
Do. of establishment,	0	3
	4	0

For the purposes of computation, a maund may be taken at 84 lbs., or ¾ of a cwt. An áná equals 1½d., and is subdivided into twelve pies. I am indebted to Mr. Walton, Collector of Purí, for the foregoing details regarding salt-making in Párikud.

same way as the excise is levied from distillers in England. The manufacturers hope this year to be able to sell the solar salt at the rate of 10s. a hundredweight, or £10 a ton, showing a profit of a little less than six per cent.

The artificially evaporated salt sells at a slightly higher price; but as it is stronger, and goes much further, the people find it in reality cheaper. Nevertheless the respectable classes throughout Orissa prefer what is practically the more costly article, made by the pure rays of the sun. They look upon the difference between the two sorts very much as they regard cooked and uncooked rice. All nature's gifts are pure until contaminated by the hand of man. Cooking constitutes such a contamination; and the priests of Orissa would as soon think of eating rice boiled by a person of inferior caste, as they would of using salt evaporated by the human device of fire.

For the salt-makers belong to the despised classes. Some of them have holdings, and work as agriculturists during the main portion of the year. But most of them are day-labourers, with or without a little patch of land attached to their cottages, and the names of their castes betray their inferiority in the Hindu social scale.[51] A large proportion of them consist of settlements from the southern seaboard. During the past eight years no salt has been made, owing to the excessive manufacture of the preceding period. In 1866 the whole salt-makers of Párikud were swept away by the famine; and now that the manufacture is resumed, the contractors say that they will have to conduct it by imported labour from the Ganjám coast.

[51] Viz. Chásás, Keuts, Bauris, and Kandrás from the Purí district, with Ariás and Irikás from Ganjám.

On the northern point of Párikud, where the channel opens towards the sea, I came upon a region of endless shallows and stake fisheries, in which even my light-draught pinnace had to be pushed by main force through the mud. The stakes form close wattle-fences, about five feet high, of which two-thirds are under water. They are arranged as three sides of an oblong, or as two of a triangle, sometimes a mile in length, with narrow-mouthed baskets opening from their sides, like the pockets along a billiard table. The tide flowed in with a gentle ripple, bringing up the fish, who swam along the fences till they came to the mouths of the baskets, which they forthwith entered and were caught. The most lucrative enclosure or pocket was, of course, the one in the angle where the stake lines met. Fishers in box-shaped canoes punted from one basket to another, and bagged the prey. But around the wicker-work enclosure in the angle a little flotilla was busily at work, while clouds of wild-fowl hovered over-head, eager and screaming, dashing down like flashes of lightning, and sometimes tearing away the fish from the boatmen's hands.

Towards the north-west end of the Chilká the shallows become solid ground. Thirty years ago the survey maps marked an extensive tract of the lake 'as occasionally dry.' This tract was even then twelve miles in circumference. Since that time, the battle between the land and the water has ceaselessly gone on; the whole being submerged in the rainy season, but the land steadily gaining ground. As the voyager approaches this amphibious region, he sees first, long-legged waders standing about in the water, and then the shorter-legged paddy birds. At last, even the ducks waddle through the mire, instead of swimming, according to their nature.

Then a dark mud-point appears above the surface, like an alligator's snout, or something black floating on the water; then almond-shaped banks of slime; then unmistakeable land, tinged with a meagre verdure; and finally, islands covered with tall yellow grass.

Up to this stage the silt-formations have been a gift of the lake to its water-fowl, and to such chance seeds as the winds of heaven may let fall. But from this point the land is appropriated by man. Rice-clearings appear, dotted with the temporary straw and mat hovels of the husbandmen who come from the mainland to stake their labour on the hazards of lake-tillage. It is difficult to say where the shore really begins, for its limits vary every month of the year. The two great rivers of Purí district here wind through endless marshes and back-waters into the lake. But eventually clumps of cocoa-nut trees, and a fringe of dense jungle in the background, announce that we have reached solid land.

The northern end of the Chilká is a geographical curiosity, even more interesting than the lake itself. With scarcely an exception, the maritime tract around the mouths of the great Bengal rivers, and sometimes for more than sixty miles inland, is nothing but dense jungle interlaced with innumerable channels, and impregnated with deadly malaria. In this way nature has provided for herself vast silent workshops in which to conduct her secret processes of land-making undisturbed. When her labours are perfected, she makes over the result without fee or wage to man. But she will have no lookers-on to criticise her half-finished work, and she excludes prying eyes during the process, by impenetrable miles of jungle, and by the pestiferous exhalations of the half-formed soil. And this she does in the true interests of man. For

making land from water, like compressing a gas into a liquid, or smelting iron out of the earth, requires the free play of mighty forces; and the spectators, be they who they may, had better stand out of the way of the workman. The main process in the fluvial land manufacture is to flood the scarcely emerged soil again and again with silt-depositing inundations; and if mankind were not kept at a distance while this is going on, thousands would be swept into the ocean every year. A short time ago, a company was started to reclaim the low-lying jungles of the Hughly delta. Everything that English capital and engineering science could accomplish to make the works secure, was done. But one morning the tidal wave came up and swept away the solid embankments and an iron-riveted pier, as a child would pluck up a ripe dandelion and blow its seeds into the wind.

The mouths of the Mahánadí that enter the Chilká form an exception to the contrivance by which the Bengal rivers keep human inhabitants from settling prematurely around their mouths. Here is nothing like the pestiferous region of jungle through which the other rivers merge into the sea, and hundreds of agricultural settlements, pushed forward by the weight of the inland population, have advanced upon these water-lands of the Purí district. I have said that the history of Orissa is the narrative of a province at the mercy of a great river, and a short account of the north-eastern shores of the Chilká will make known to European readers the terrible meaning of these words.

The Mahánadí, literally the Great River, after collecting the drainage of 45,000 square miles[52] in the hill-country,

[52] From Superintending Engineer, Cattack Circle, to Chief Engineer to Government of Bengal, No. 310, dated 18th January 1851, para. 2. P. W. D.

dashes itself down upon the plains, a little above Cattack, through a gorge barely half a mile wide. Here it immediately divides, forming a delta-head, and sending out four great arms. Of these, the most easterly, the Koyákhái, furnishes the water supply of the Purí district. After a course of seventeen miles, the Koyákhái bifurcates into the Dayá and Bhárgaví. The Dayá, literally the River of Mercy, draws off one-third of the Koyákhái, or 33,100 cubic feet[53] of water per second, and flows south-east into the Chilká. The Bhárgaví, or the River of Fate, carries away the other two-thirds, or 59,220 cubic feet per second,[54] and after a few miles splits into a number of channels which run southwards to the coast. Here they ought naturally to enter the sea, but each in turn finds itself arrested by the high sandy ridges which the Bay has thrown up. They accordingly struggle forward in a south-westerly direction, almost parallel with the coast, seeking egress, but finding none. Flowing nearly on a dead level, and amid a hundred obstructions, they search out every line of drainage, spreading themselves into vast swamps, accumulating in huge back-waters, one of which, the Sar Lake, is sometimes as much as 18 miles in circumference, and playing gigantic pranks with human life and property as they force their way along. After 20 miles of a vain struggle to force a passage through the sandy ridges into the sea, the channels of the Bhárgaví find their way into the Chilká Lake.

Now it is a feature of the Orissa rivers, hereafter to be more fully dwelt upon, that their channels are wholly inadequate to their work. A vast volume of water, amounting in time of highest flood to 1,800,000 cubic

[53] Appendix to Captain Harris' Second Report, Table 2, p. 96. I. R.
[54] *Idem.*

feet a second, pours through the narrow gorge above Cattack, while the total capacity of all the Mahánadí distributaries midway between Cattack and the sea, only suffices for a discharge of 900,000 cubic feet.[55] The channels, therefore, can carry down only half the volume that is poured into them during flood, and the other half would, if left to itself, spill over the banks.

From time immemorial the husbandmen have laboured to prevent this by embankments; and on our annexation of the province in 1803, the feature that struck the new rulers as the one great fact in the rural economy of Orissa, was this sempiternal struggle between the people and the rivers. At present, were it not for the embankments, two-thirds of Purí district would be at the mercy of the floods.[56] Indeed, notwithstanding the 316 miles of dykes now maintained by Government in Purí district alone, there is not a single one of the twenty-nine Fiscal Divisions[57] of the district beyond the reach of inundations.[58]

Each channel commits its own set of depredations as it goes along; but at the north end of the Chilká the entire river-system of Purí reunites, and the whole accumulated misery of the district is concentrated on its shores. For it is a feature of deltaic rivers, that although they do not overflow throughout their entire length every year, yet the lower portion of their course, near their mouths, is subjected to annual inundations.[59] Otherwise,

[55] *Idem*, column 10.

[56] Letter No. 166, from Bábu Kailas Chandra Ghose, Deputy Collector under Embankment Committee, to President of Committee, 23d May 1868, para. 52. I. R.

[57] I invariably use the words Fiscal Division to represent a Parganá.

[58] Letter from Bábu Kailas Chandra Ghose to President of Embankment Committee, para. 51. I. R.

[59] Report of the Committee assembled by order of Government 'to

indeed, how could the work of land-making go on? Whenever any suffering has to be borne in the Purí district, therefore, the northern shores of the Chilká bear the largest share, and they are frequently desolated by floods, while the higher parts of the rivers are reaping rich harvests in safety.

The northern shores of the Chilká are distributed into two Fiscal Divisions: Chaubiskud, literally the Twenty-four Islands, on the south, watered by the mouths of the Bhárgaví; and Sirái on the north, through which the Dayá winds by various channels into the lake. About a hundred years ago, the Marhattás, who then held rule in Orissa, seized these two divisions on the plea that their Rájá had not paid his share towards repelling a 'pretender' who had invaded Purí from the south. According to the unsettled predatory instincts of their race, the Marhattás never took complete possession of these estates, or indeed of any other territory which they might snatch, but levied a rough quit-rent. A village-head represented the husbandmen, and administered the affairs of each little rural community, holding his office on an hereditary tenure, and enjoying much local dignity and some solid emoluments therefrom.

The conquerors cared nothing for the people, and had as little to do with them as possible. A Marhattá receiver collected the quit-rent from the village-heads, and left each village commune to partition the burden among its members. But in 1789 a great flood, or some other calamity, desolated the country, and plunged the head-men and cultivators into ruin. The village-heads fell behind with their rents. The receiver bullied and

investigate the effects of the inundations which occurred in the province of Orissa in the year 1866,' para. 13. I. R.

squeezed until he forced them to sell him their hereditary office. The wily Marhattá thus combined the authority of the receiver and of the head-man in his own person. No one remained to represent the interests of the unhappy cultivators. As receiver, he cheated his masters, the Marhattá Government. As head-man of all the rural communes, he extorted money from the peasantry, in order that he should not as receiver raise their rents. After a career of villany, he was at length turned out of his office as receiver by his masters; but the village-headships remained in the hands of his nominee, and the unfortunate cultivators continued without their natural protectors and representatives till we expelled the Marhattás in 1803.[60]

Better days, however, were soon to dawn upon the northern shores of the Chilká. From the moment we assumed charge of the province, the ablest talent in the administration has been concentrated on finding out the exact capabilities of the country, and in guarding the people from being burdened more heavily than they could bear. Each village was separately surveyed and assessed; and it may be well to select the northern end of the Chilká as an illustration of that system of honest and direct dealing with the peasantry, by which the Company managed, without a bayonet or sabre within seventy miles, to establish its power in each remotest hamlet of Orissa. Every part of the province presented very much the same features; and what I now say about Sirái might be said of half the Fiscal Divisions of Orissa.

When we drove out the Marhattás, we found the old rural organization of Sirái so utterly broken down, that

[60] Abbreviated from Settlement Papers. P. R.

no landholder appeared to engage for its revenue. It never occurred to the dishonest receiver who had got possession of the village-headships, that the new Government would admit his claims, and without the support of the Government he knew he could not hold his own against the indignant people. But afterwards finding that the chief characteristic of the conquerors was their scrupulous respect for existing rights, he plucked up heart, and was acknowledged by the English. Between the years 1803 and 1836, our officers investigated the condition of Sirái seven times over. The burden of the revenue was fairly adjusted among the people. Dishonestly concealed holdings were brought to light, and cultivation steadily increased, so that lands which were supposed in 1804 to have been rather high rented at £56 a year, were acknowledged to be cheap at £122 in 1836.

This improvement was the natural result of a quarter of a century's rest and good government. It was not taken for granted, however, but ascertained by a minute examination of every hamlet and field, conducted by the English head of the district, with the most scrupulous regard to the rights of the people. He thus describes the process: 'The several villages were measured by the village accountants and hired surveyors, and their papers were tested by myself, or by the chief officer of my court. Having satisfied myself that the measurements and classifications of lands were correct, and having heard the statements of the landholders, head-men, and cultivators regarding the peculiarities and disadvantages of their villages, rates for the different descriptions of soil were settled, and other surveyors deputed to prepare rent-rolls in accordance with them, and to

distribute leases to all resident husbandmen willing to engage.'[61]

A minute examination of this sort naturally brought to light many curious lights and shadows of rural life. To Indian civilians of the present day, not less than to the European reader, it reopens a forgotten world; and not even long familiarity with the records, and the slow toil of poring over their discoloured pages, can blunt my admiration of the tenderness for the rights of the people with which the Company's revenue officers did their work. It was their policy, on the one hand, to raise up a rural aristocracy, whose very existence should depend upon the stability of our rule. With a view to this, they gave the fullest recognition to those inchoate proprietary rights, which were always imperfectly developed under Hindu rule, and which in Orissa had been almost trampled out beneath the hoofs of the Marhattá horse.

A subsequent chapter will be devoted to the classification and elucidation of these rights. At present it must suffice to say, that while even in the best days of Musalmán rule, the landholders intermediate between the State and the cultivators, were entitled to only ten per cent. of the rent, the Company allowed gross reductions to between thirty and forty per cent. Thus, in seven villages on the north of the Chilká, it found that the total rent paid by the cultivators was £190 per annum, and of this it claimed only £122 for the State.[62] In many cases even a more liberal allowance was made. In another set of villages, out of a rent of £115, the

[61] Letter from W. Wilkinson, Esq., Collector of Purí, to Commissioner, dated 29th April 1837, para. 8. P. R.

[62] *Idem*, paras. 5 to 9.

Government retained only £77;[63] and practically the Company built up a rural aristocracy, with whom it pretty equally divided the revenue of the province.

Next to the landholders, and perhaps more important than they, were colonies of Bráhmans living in villages by themselves, and holding their land at a low quit-rent, under charters from the native Government. Such settlements were numerous on the northern shores of the Chilká. They formed a religious aristocracy, which came forth unscathed from centuries of war and tumult. On our acquisition of the country, they were almost the only class that had title-deeds to show for their lands. Their privileges were duly secured to them by the British power, their rights were carefully investigated, and they are maintained intact at the present day.[64]

But valuable as a well-disposed rural aristocracy might be, the Company's officers deemed it of still greater importance to have the people on their side. In liberally recognising the rights of the intermediate holders, therefore, they took care to do so, not at the expense of the cultivators, but at the cost of the State. They found that the husbandmen on the north of the Chilká, as in other parts of Orissa, consisted of two great classes: resident cultivators,[65] who lived in the villages within whose boundaries their lands lay; and immigrant or migratory tenants,[66] who had no house in the hamlet, but cultivated part of the surplus land attached to it. The former held their fields from father to son; and although possessing no defined rights, it would have

[63] Letter from Collector of Purí to Commissioner, dated 23d May 1837. Do., dated 5th June, granting 45 per cent. for deductions. P. R.

[64] Letter from Collector to Commissioner, July 1837, para. 8. P. R.

[65] Thání Ráiats.

[66] Páhí Ráiats.

been considered intolerable tyranny on the part of the State, or of the intermediate landholder, to oust them as long as they paid the customary rent. Such questions scarcely ever arose, however; for at that time the difficulty was not on the part of the cultivators to get land, but on the part of the landholders to obtain cultivators. It is doubtful whether at any period in Indian history, until our own, an equilibrium has ever existed between the population and the land. At any rate, when we took over the country, famine, floods, banditti, and the roaming Marhattás, had left barely half as many peasants as were required to cultivate the soil. Each Rájá jealously watched over the husbandmen on his domain, and each subordinate landholder as strictly guarded the portion of them attached to his estate. In those times the cultivators were as important a property as the land itself.

But while it was the interest of each landholder to prevent his neighbour from enticing away his own husbandmen, it was equally his interest to attract as many peasants as possible from his neighbours' estates. To this end, he offered land to immigrant cultivators at greatly cheaper rates than they could get it from their own landlords. His neighbours did precisely the same thing; and the result was, that on every estate of Orissa there were two distinct rates for the same quality of land. The hereditary peasants, or resident cultivators, paid the maximum rent, along with as many additional cesses as could be squeezed out of them without risk of their deserting. On the other hand, those who had already deserted from neighbouring estates were welcomed by their new landlord, and received as much land as they wanted at a low rent. The proportion which these

two rates bore to each other varied in different parts of the country, according as immigrant tenants were more or less urgently needed to cultivate the surplus land. In some places the migratory husbandman paid barely one-half of the ordinary rent, but in general three-fifths. The twelve villages noted below[67] exhibit how great the difference might be in a single Fiscal Division. A list which I have brought together from distant parts of the district presents a still wider diversity.

The resident cultivators, thus heavily weighted with rent, had a further set of burdens to which the immigrant husbandmen were strangers. The amount of these additional rates was limited only by the inability of the landlord to squeeze more out of the peasantry without driving them from his estate. On the north of the Chilká the list amounted to twenty-three distinct cesses. If a child of the landholder married, the resident husbandman paid. If a child of a husbandman married, the husbandman paid. If the landholder died, the resident husbandman paid. If a husbandman, not a Bráhman, bought some of the lightly rented Bráhman lands, he paid a fine to his landlord. The resident husbandmen paid the landholder for liberty to erect embankments to protect their crops. They paid the landholder for the privilege of attending the festival of Jagannáth, to drag the car. They paid for licence to grow sugar-cane and

67

	Resident Cultivator. Per Acre.		Immigrant Cultivator. Per Acre.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Keutpárá,	4	4¼	3	1½
Kátpárá, .	4	2¼	3	3¾
Delang, . . } Charpárá, . }	2	9	2	1½
Chándpárá, .	4	0	2	10½
Billáyatpur, .	4	6	3	11

	Resident Cultivator. Per Acre.		Immigrant Cultivator. Per Acre.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Detiapárá,	3	10	2	10¼
Tipuri, .	3	4½	2	10½
Ránípárá,	4	10¼	3	9½
Sudhágarh, .	3	10	2	8½
Sirái, . .	4	1	3	3¼
Puseapárá,	3	9½	2	9¾

other remunerative crops, in addition to the high rent exacted for the requisite quality of land. They had to pay the landholder for keeping up the embankments, and then they had to give their labour free to do the work.[68]

It will immediately occur to the English reader to inquire how men could be so foolish as to pay the higher rent, and submit to all these exactions, when by moving to the adjoining estate they might get the same land at about half-price. To the Hindu husbandman of that period such a question would never have occurred. For among an old-fashioned rural community there are grave deterrents to changing one's abode. Local ties exercise an influence which modern Englishmen are wholly unable to comprehend, but the recollection of which will live to all time in George Eliot's delineations of the English rural life of half a century ago. Such ties attain their maximum strength in India. They have struck their roots deep in the religion, the superstitions, and the necessities of the people. The whole social system of the Hindus is one continuous chain, from which, if a link drops out, it finds nothing to attach itself to, and no recognised place to fill. It is scarcely too much to say, that an Orissa peasant who left his village in the last century, found himself very nearly as uncomfortable for the rest of his life, as a Chesapeake Indian who abandoned his tribe.

The migratory husbandman not only lost his hereditary position in his own village, but he was an object of dislike and suspicion among the new community into which he thrust himself. For every accession of cultivators tended to better the position of the landlord, and,

[68] Letter from Mr. Deputy Collector Melville to Commissioner, dated 20th January 1819, paras. 56, 57, and other papers. P. R. and O. R.

pro tanto, to injure that of the cultivators. So long as the land on an estate continued to be twice as much as the hereditary peasantry could till, the resident husbandmen were of too much importance to be bullied or squeezed into discontent. But once a large body of immigrant cultivators had grown up, this primitive check upon the landlord's exactions was removed. The migratory tenants, therefore, not only lost their position in their old villages, but they were harassed in their new settlements. Worse than all, they were to a certain extent confounded with the landless low-castes, who, destitute of the local connections so keenly prized in rural society as the evidences of respectability, wandered about as hired labourers and temporary cultivators of surplus village lands.

In addition to these social considerations, and to the life-long tenderness of a simple people for their kindred and homes, an Orissa husbandman had to make up his mind to a serious pecuniary loss if he deserted his native village. His neat homestead, with its garden-ground and fruit-trees, its well or tank, its cow-houses and barns and threshing-floor, was his own hereditary property. His forefathers had built those mud walls, and planted the grove of trees around them. He himself had repaired them year by year, and one way or another they represented the whole fixed capital that the family had managed to accumulate during many generations. When a cultivator merely went from one village to another on the same estate, or, by an amicable arrangement, obtained a part of the surplus land of a neighbouring village without having to quit his home, he retained his house; and enterprising men of this sort constituted a large class among the so-called migratory

tenants. But the migratory tenant pure and simple had to sacrifice his ancient homestead and all its belongings. The landlords naturally endeavoured to render the position of a cultivator who had thrown up his holding as uncomfortable as possible; and what between the bullying of the bailiff in his old village, and the ill-will of the husbandmen in his new settlement, the migratory tenant could hope but for small pleasure in life.

Nevertheless the principles of competition asserted themselves, and land that could be got below the market rates found customers. In the seven villages on the north of the Chilká, of which I have already spoken, the resident cultivators held 896 acres, and paid on an average 3s. 6d. per acre, in addition to a variety of local cesses, while 249 acres were held by migratory tenants, who only paid an average of 2s. 9d., without any cesses whatever.[69] But while in these villages the migratory tenants cultivated little more than one-fourth of what the resident husbandmen held, the proportion in the adjoining Fiscal Division of Chaubiskud amounted to one-half.[70] In every case they held at very much lower rents for exactly the same quality of land.

The Company's officers made a marked distinction in their dealings with these two classes of cultivators. They held that the mere fact of a man being a resident husbandman entitled him to a lease[71] at exactly the same rent that he had formerly paid. With the migratory tenants, on the other hand, the Company's servants did not interfere.[72] This class required no protection. It had all the world before it, and could pick its holdings

[69] Settlement Papers, particularly Mr. Wilkinson's Report to Commissioner, dated 29th April 1837, para. 9. P. R.

[70] From the same to the same, dated 31st May 1837, etc. P. R.

[71] Collector's Report of 29th April 1837, para. 8. [72] *Idem*, para. 9.

from the entire surplus land of Orissa. Moreover, the landholders were only too anxious to attach migratory husbandmen permanently to their estates, by leases or by any other means. While, therefore, our settlement officers gave a lease on their own motion to every one of the resident cultivators, they left it to the landholder to apply for leases for the migratory husbandmen who might have taken up their abode on his estate.

The same scrupulous justice was shown to every class interested in the soil. Under the ancient Hindu system a protective machinery of village officers had grown up, which to some extent checked the exactions of the Rájás. A head-man represented each little rural community in its dealings with the intermediate landholders, or with the State. It was he who arranged with the superior lord for the quit-rent of the hamlet, and who distributed the burden among his fellow-cultivators. For these two distinct offices he received two distinct sets of emoluments. On the one hand, the native Government allowed him, rent-free, one acre[73] in every twenty actually under cultivation. On the other hand, the villagers paid him a small fee of a penny an acre in addition to the landlord's rent, which was annually fixed 'after an examination of the crops when they reached maturity.'[74] The nature of this latter payment was much disputed, some officers regarding it as a Government salary, and others as a popular contribution; but I have given what I conceive, after mining through some thousands of Settlement Papers, to be the real explanation.

[73] Called Hetá.

[74] Settlement Papers, particularly Mr. W. Wilkinson's Report of 29th April 1837, para. 12. P. R. and C. R.

Besides the head-man, each rural commune had an accountant,[75] who, in the same manner, was partly a Government officer and partly a village representative. He was paid by a Government allowance of half an acre, rent-free, for every twenty in cultivation, and by a money contribution of a halfpenny an acre from the husbandmen. Under the Marhattá Government both these offices were hereditary, and transferable by sale, but the accountant only received half the emoluments of the head-man.[76]

The only other conspicuous person in the little rural commonwealth at the northern end of the Chilká was the village watchman. He also held the twofold capacity of a Government official and a servant of the commune. As the former he received five acres of rent-free land, and as the latter he was entitled to 'a rather large sheaf of corn on every five acres.'[77] It never occurred to the simple husbandmen to define the size of the sheaf; but it is recorded that 'the watchman, as long as he is on good terms with the cultivators, is generally allowed to select the largest he can find on the field.'[78]

In this way the Company's officers laboured to preserve every part of the rural organization intact. Whenever they found rights of any sort, they either left them as they found them, or they strengthened them at the expense of the State. Thus the intermediate landholders, who were only entitled to ten per cent. of the rental, received gross deductions always amounting to twenty, and sometimes to forty-five per cent. Nevertheless their old status was sharply insisted upon by the

[75] Called Bhui.

[76] Mr. W. Wilkinson's Report of 29th April 1837, paras. 14 and 16, etc. P. R.

[77] *Idem*, para. 20. [78] *Idem*.

provision, that if they were dissatisfied with the terms which Government offered, or fell behind in their payments, the Government would itself assume the direct management of their estate, allowing them only their ancient ten per cent. on the collections. But while the Company thus improved the position of the intermediate landholders, it also strengthened the representatives of the peasant cultivators. The last settlement in 1837 confirmed all the previous privileges of the village-heads, and allowed them an additional fifteen per cent. for their trouble.

At the same time, our settlement officers realized that it was vain to strengthen the protective machinery of the cultivators, unless they also strengthened the cultivators themselves. The ancient status of this class, and its communal organization, will hereafter receive separate treatment. At present it must suffice to say, that when we got the country they had no defined rights whatever, and that practically they depended for protection upon the fact that there was more land in Orissa than there were husbandmen to till it. But it has been found that in every province of India the people increase under British rule, and an equilibrium is sooner or later established between the population and the land. The Company, therefore, while strengthening the rural aristocracy, defined the rights of the husbandmen, and guarded them by written engagements in all time to come. The settlement officer first ascertained that the existing rate did not press too heavily on the peasants. He then gave a lease to every resident cultivator at these rates, and without any enhancement whatever.[79] The

[79] Settlement Papers; and as regards Sirái, Mr. Wilkinson's Report above cited, para. 9. P. R.

down-trodden husbandman thenceforward cultivated his little holding upon the same high guarantee by which the great seigneur enjoyed his estates, and the rights of every rank in the rural community were made to depend upon the stability of British rule.[80]

This edifice of rights took a full third of a century to build, and during the first twenty years the master masons had to labour with the sword in one hand and the pen in the other. But in spite of banditti, and the occasional firing up of the half-extinguished ashes of the previous Government, in spite of famines and floods, the work went steadily forward. Its foundations were laid deep in the self-interests of the great mass of the population. The re-settlement of 1836–37 put the finishing touch to the fabric; but the constantly increasing pressure of the peasantry on the land has required, and will continue to involve, careful adaptations of this system of a bygone age to the present necessities of the people.

So much for the past history of the rural communities on the north of the Chilká. Their present position is that of a people in a state of siege. A year scarcely elapses without an inundation that destroys hundreds of peaceful homesteads. On the one side are the rivers, with their beds equal to the discharge of only half the water that is poured into them from above. On the other side is the Chilká, with the southern monsoon blowing for months together, and piling up masses of water on the northern shores to a height of eight feet above the surface level of the other end of the lake.[81] At the very time when the rivers have to discharge their greatest

[80] Settlement Papers and Reports for the years (Faslí era) 1213, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1221–2, 1235, and (Christian era) 1836–37. O. R.

[81] Report of a Tour of Professional Inspection, by Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Cotton, 1856, para. 83. G. R.

volume, they find themselves checked at the point of issue by this vast accumulation of water which the monsoon has pushed up the Chilká. We know that gales blowing up the Gulf of Finland have more than once checked the discharge of the Neva, and swamped the lower city of St. Petersburgh. Now this is what takes place every year upon the Chilká. The furious monsoon not only chokes the mouths of the rivers, but drives masses of brackish water right up their channels, spreading desolation and havoc around.

Dim stories of terrible tragedies flit across the forgotten history of these shores under the Marhattá Government. From the first moment they passed under our hands, the necessity has been acknowledged for measures to repress and control the floods. Up to 1836 the cultivators used to flee by whole villages to the hill-country in the north, preferring its sterile uplands to the fatal fertility of these flood-stricken shores. In 1837 large remissions were permanently allowed for risk of inundation, and 'the bursting of embankments.'[82] If such were not granted, the settlement officer reported that the peasantry would desert by villages to the hill-estates, 'from which many have only lately returned.'[83]

But these estimates have fallen far short of the reality. Of the thirty-two years ending in 1866, twenty-four have been years of flood, so serious as to require additional remissions of revenue. During the last fifteen of them, there has only been a single one in which such remissions have not been required. This exceptional year was 1865–66, when the province was depopulated by drought instead. It must be remembered that, when-

[82] Report to Commissioner, 31st May 1837, para. 10. P. R.
[83] Report of 29th April 1837, para. 10. P. R.

ever there are floods in the Purí district, the shores of the Chilká have to bear the greatest share of the general suffering. I have no separate account of their pecuniary losses; but during the fifteen years above alluded to, the total remissions of Government land rent in the Purí district amounted to £41,993 for floods alone.[84] If to this we add £1393 remitted for the famine in 1865-66, we have a total reduction of £43,386, being very nearly equal to a whole year's land-revenue of the district. At the same time, there has been the enormous sum of £35,577[85] expended by Government in embankments and other protective works against inundation. We have, therefore, for the two items of remissions for floods and maintenance of embankments, a bill for £78,963 in fifteen years. This forms an annual charge of ten per cent. on the total land-revenue of the district.

But even this does not represent the whole cost of these floods. For, on the one hand, Government has not only to allow remissions of revenue; but it is liable to be called on, as in 1866, for an enormous outlay in charity and relief works, and thousands of acres of the finest lands are left unassessed in consequence of their exposure to inundation. Thus, in the seven villages on the north of the Chilká, which I have already referred to, one-fourth of the whole area was excluded from payment on this account.[86] At the present moment, throughout the Fiscal Division of Sirái, 4212 acres are left waste for fear of the floods, against 5524 which are cultivated within their range. In Chaubiskud, the division adjoining, the proportion is 17,482 left waste, to 23,000 under tillage.

[84] Report of Inundations Committee, 1866, p. 68.
[85] *Idem*, p. 70.
[86] Settlement Papers, 1837. P. R.
[87] Inundations Committee's Report, 1866, p. 90. I. R.

Moreover the part that is cultivated yields only a fraction of what it would but for the floods. The various Fiscal Divisions of Purí district are classified according to the extent to which they are liable to such calamities.[88] Among them, those on the shores of the Chilká are stated to be entirely within the reach of inundations. By comparing the rents in these unhappy regions with the rates of Fiscal Divisions which are comparatively protected, I find that the risk of floods decreases the market value of the same quality of land to nearly one-fifth. Thus the highest rate for winter rice land in Sirái, on the north of the Chilká, is 2s. an acre. In Domárkhand, one of the best protected Fiscal Divisions, it is 9s. 6d. Again, in Sirái the lowest rent for the same sort of land is 4½d. an acre; in Domárkhand it is 2s. 9d. In Sirái the average rate for such land is 1s. 2d. an acre; in Domárkhand it is 4s. 10d. In addition, therefore, to the crushing annual incubus on the public revenue, amounting, as we have seen, for two items alone, to ten per cent., the risk of floods on the northern shores of the Chilká decreases the rent-paying powers of the land to one-fifth of their natural value.[89]

I feel that, in speaking of Orissa floods, I am labouring under the disadvantage of talking in an unknown language to the English reader. For, happily for my countrymen, they can never realize the full significance of the terms I use. Some square miles of inundation in the fen country is the most terrible form of river flood known in England. Such an occurrence

[88] Inundations Committee's Report, 1866, p. 35. I. R.

[89] Inundations Committee's Report, p. 83; Statement No. 15, etc. I have selected the worst and the best Fiscal Division to illustrate my case. The *general* diminution of the market value of land in consequence of floods will be subsequently shown. I. R.

would leave behind it not a single paragraph in the Government records of Purí. I shall endeavour to give an idea of what a flood really means in Orissa, by a few bare facts with regard to the inundation of 1866.

In the single district of Purí, with a total area of 2504 square miles, 275 were submerged from five to forty-five days.[90] Throughout this vast area the water was nowhere less than three feet deep;[91] in whole villages it was 10 feet deep, and over thousands of acres it averaged seven. The rivers came down like furious bulls, bursting their banks in every direction, and leaving fifty-two wide breaches behind them as they tore along. More than 412,000 people were suddenly driven out of house and home, and found themselves in the middle of a boiling ocean. When we come to the details, the picture assumes a still more appalling aspect. In one part of Sirái, on the north of the Chilká, 1200 acres were under nine feet of water; and the average depth over the entire 7830 acres reported upon in Sirái, was between seven and nine feet. There were, therefore, in this single fiscal division of Purí, more than twelve square miles of solid land suddenly turned into a sea between seven and nine feet deep, and this sea continued to cover everything for thirty days. Thousands of miserable families floated about in canoes, on bamboo rafts, on trunks of trees, or on rice stacks, which threatened every moment to dissolve into fragments beneath them. No lives were lost in the first rush of the waters, for the unhappy inhabitants of those regions knew but too well, from previous experience, what they had to expect, and live in a constant prepara-

[90] The exact amount was 177,185 acres. Letter No. 166 from Bábu Kailas Chandra Ghose, to President of the Embankment Committee, dated 23d May 1868, para. 27.

[91] *Idem.*

tion for calamity. Most of the hamlets have boats tied to the houses; and for miles, the high thatched roofs are firmly held down by bamboo stakes, so as to afford a refuge in time of flood. Starving colonies might be seen thus perched above the waters. Every banyan tree had its rookery of human beings, while the Bráhmans effected settlements on the roofs of their brick temples, and looked down in safety as the flood roared past. The common danger disarmed all creatures of their natural antipathies. Snakes glided up to the roofs, and burrowed harmlessly in the thatch. Others, less fortunate, wriggled up trees, and whenever a canoe or a log of wood passed, slid down into the water, and swam along the surface, with head erect, towards the ark which their instinct told them would bear them to dry land. From the first the cattle suffered terribly. Sheep and goats were carried away by herds in the torrent, and in a few days their carcases came to the surface, and floated about covered with crows and scuffling kites. But the most pitiable sight of all was the plough cattle standing in shallow parts up to their necks, and hungrily snuffing the barren waters for food, until they sank exhausted into the slime. During the first days of the flood, every branch or twig or bundle of hay was covered with ants, beetles, lizards, and a hundred forms of minute life. But by degrees starvation did its work, and the wearied antennæ relaxed their hold. Before the thirty days were over, many a famished family had also sunk beneath the waters.

Such was the flood of 1866; and it must be remembered that, although of unusually long continuance, it was by no means singular as to its extent or its depth. Indeed, we find that in 1855 the inunda-

tion was deeper in every one of the Fiscal Divisions of Purí.[92]

When the waters subsided, the survivors found themselves amid a region of desolated homesteads, fœtid slime, and rotting crops. Close on two million hundred-weight of rice had perished in Purí district alone during the thirty days.[93] Its lowest money value was estimated at £643,683, and this vast loss had been sustained notwithstanding that, in one single district, 10,620 acres of fertile land are permanently left untilled for fear of flood.[94]

It may well be supposed that English humanity and English engineering skill have long been anxiously looking out for some safeguard against such terrible calamities. The protective works of the last half-century will be discussed hereafter; but I must not leave the Chilká without mentioning that one of the ablest engineers who ever worked in Orissa, believed that the lake itself affords an escape from the difficulty. He proved by actual measurements, that the river-beds on the delta were barely equal to discharge one-half the maximum flood that the Mahánadí pours into them. He proposed to relieve them, therefore, by means of a cutting, which would lead off the surplus water of the Mahánadí, at a point some miles above the gorge through which the still united river descends upon the plains. This artificial outlet would start from the south bank of the river, about twenty-five miles above Cattack, in the tributary state of Bánkí, where a great natural basin

[92] Inundations Committee's Report, p. 65; Statement No. 4. I. R.

[93] The return was 2,418,390 maunds, which, at the rate of 84 lbs. to the maund, is 1,813,792 cwts.

[94] Inundations Committee's Report, p. 103. I. R.

has formed,[95] and where two natural channels already exist along the line of drainage. These channels[96] would themselves have afforded an outlet to the south long ago, but for their being stopped by a low watershed known as the Dáltalá Hill. Captain Harris proposed to make a cutting through this impediment. On the other side of it he finds another natural channel in the Munáguní, a tributary of the Dayá River, which flows into the Chilká Lake.

In this way the Mahánadí would no longer be allowed to hurl twice as much water upon the miserable plains as the rivers can carry off. Its discharge would be regulated before it emerges upon the delta at all. Practically, the Dáltalá Cutting would form an additional mouth to the Mahánadí, and so ease all its existing distributaries. The new mouth would at first give very partial relief. The Mahánadí pours down at the rate of 1,800,000 cubic feet per second in flood, and the capacity of the deltaic rivers for discharging amounts to only 900,000 cubic feet.[97] There is therefore a total balance of 900,000 cubic feet per second to be carried off, and the Dáltalá Cutting would in the first instance be capable of discharging only 50,000,[98] or one-eighteenth part 'of the surplus quantity which it is desired to dispose of, in order to place the delta in security.'[99] But it should be remembered that even a partial relief would be of

[95] Very carefully surveyed by Mr. J. M'Millan, and reviewed by Captain Harris, para. 25 of Third Report, 21st August 1859. P. W. D.

[96] The Rampá and the Ran-nálá, plate 1 to Captain Harris' Report, Part 2. P. W. D.

[97] Appendix to Report of Superintendent of Embankments, No. 1420, dated 21st August 1858, Table II. P. W. D.

[98] Captain Harris' Third Report, para. 26, p. 45. P. W. D.

[99] Letter No. 4470, from the officiating Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th October 1858, para. 13. P. W. D.

immense importance. It is the last few feet of an inundation that do most mischief; and by decreasing the maximum flood by even a few feet, hundreds of families would be annually saved from ruin. Moreover, the Dáltalá Cutting would gradually widen itself, so that every year its capacity of discharge would be increased.

There are, however, two great practical difficulties to the scheme. In the first place, engineers are by no means sure that the new outlet would not commit even more frightful devastations than the present floods. Captain Harris, like all the higher order of minds in his profession, proposed to make nature do as much as possible of the work. But what would be the result of an enormous volume of water poured into a little river like the Munágunī, and forced along it at a tremendous pace? The professional advisers of the Government of that day (1858) shrank from the question until a more accurate knowledge of the country could be obtained. 'It would be vain,' they said, 'to offer any opinion upon this apparently somewhat hazardous mode of disposing of a flood of water equalling two-thirds that of the Ganges at its fullest in the season of flood.'[100] Even after further information had been supplied, the engineers who would have been responsible to the public for the authoritative sanction of the scheme did not venture on its recommendation.[101] For not only would the volume of water be enormous, but the velocity would be such as to 'render almost certain the destruction of its banks.' Even in the dry weather the fall between the Mahánadī

[100] Letter No. 4470, *ut supra.*

[101] Letter No. 2668, from the Superintending Engineer, Third Circle, to the officiating Chief Engineer, dated 10th October 1859, para. 50; and subsequent proceedings. P. W. D.

and the Chilká along the proposed route averages $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet per mile, and in high floods it would average $5\frac{1}{2}$.[102] A fall of five feet per mile in a river thirty feet deep gives a velocity of about ten miles an hour.[103] But even this irresistible rush does not represent the whole danger; for while the average fall would be $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, it might rise at certain sections to ten.[104] The Dáltalá Cutting would indeed regulate the Mahánadí floods, but it would itself defy control.

The second great difficulty arises from the silting up of the mouth of the Chilká. For, assuming that engineering science could safely bring the monster river into the lake, the question immediately arises, How to get it out again? Supposing the cutting discharged only 50,000 cubic feet a second, which, as we have seen, represents but one-eighteenth of the surplus flood requiring to be drawn off, even this would suffice to deepen the whole Chilká at the rate of three feet a week during floods.[105] But if the full extent of relief was given to the Mahánadí, and 900,000 cubic feet per second were carried off by the Dáltolá Cutting, the surface of the lake would rise eight feet per diem.[106] In either case, unless a vast opening to the sea was provided, the whole country for thousands of square miles would be submerged, the

[102] Captain Harris' Third Report, para. 26, p. 43.

[103] No. 4470, from Chief Engineer, L. P., to Government of Bengal, dated 9th October 1858, para. 13. In technical calculations of this sort, I depend entirely upon the accuracy of the professional papers from which they are taken.

[104] Captain Harris' Third Report, p. 42.

[105] This allows a liberal calculation of 450 square miles for the area of the Chilká in time of flood; thus $\left(\frac{50,000 \times 7 \times 60 \times 60}{5280 \times 5280 \times 450}\right) = 3$ cubic feet.

[106] This latter calculation was made by the officiating Chief Engineer, who, for purposes of safety, had to assume that the flood finds the Chilká at its dry weather area of only 350 square miles. No. 4470, dated 9th October 1858, para. 18.

flood waters in the other rivers would be violently thrown back, and half the Purí district drowned.

For it must be remembered that the Dáltalá Cutting would practically concentrate upon a single spot the whole surplus water of the Mahánadí, which is now distributed over all Orissa. As long as the floods continued, their rush would suffice to scour, and even to deepen, the channel from the Chilká to the sea; but during the eight months of dry weather, the sand-depositing tides and currents of the bay would fill up the opening, and labour ceaselessly by day and night to build a bar across it. The next rainy season, when the rush of water found the obstruction in front, it would no doubt eventually break through it, and scour for itself a new channel to the sea. But this would take time, and meanwhile the floods would pile themselves up on the flat country around the Chilká, destroying hundreds of villages, and thousands of pounds of property. If, on the other hand, Government cleared out the channel before the commencement of the rains, it would find itself saddled with an endless Sisyphus labour, and a vast annual expense.

There is, however, a third alternative. It is true that, in such a struggle with the bar-building ocean, Government could only follow nature's lead. The safest engineering would consist of the very contrivances which a great river would of itself, but more slowly, adopt. Now the rivers along the Bay of Bengal keep open their outlets, not only by scouring, but also by building a protective work against the sand-depositing currents and the southern monsoon. Without a single exception, every important mouth of the Mahánadí turns northward just as it enters the sea, and forms a bank or bar

between its channel and the currents that rush up from the south. These protective works result from the circumstance that the marine currents find themselves first checked by the opposing volumes of the river on the south side of its channel, and immediately deposit a large proportion of their sand. The rivers, on the other hand, also find themselves more strongly checked on the south by the marine current than by the comparatively still water on their northern side, and accordingly deposit a larger part of their silt along the southern edge of their channel as they enter the sea. With regard both to the marine current and the river stream, the maximum resistance is on the southern side of the channel, and, as a matter of consequence, the maximum deposit also. In this way the mouth of the Deví River has been kept open, the Dhámrá River is rendered navigable to sloops and rice-ships, and the sand islands off False Point have enabled the Mahánadí to scour out a harbour, destined, I firmly believe, to be one of the great future ports of India.

If, from any accident, the formation of these protective works on the south of an Orissa river-mouth is interfered with, the channel immediately chokes up, and the river ceases to be of any value for navigation.

It is clear, therefore, that if the Chilká Lake is to be converted into a vast outlet for the concentrated floods of Orissa, Government would probably have to protect its mouth by a breakwater, such as nature provides for her own channels. For the Dáltalá Cutting amounts to nothing less than the creation of a vast river, two-thirds the size of the mighty Ganges in the time of its highest flood. The first outlay in constructing a mole from the shore, strong enough and long enough to protect the

Chilká mouth from the sand-laden currents and southern monsoon, would be very great. But it is a practicable undertaking; and it must be remembered that, once the marine currents found themselves checked, they would themselves begin to deposit banks on the south of the breakwater, and the engineering powers of nature would thus be enlisted in fortifying the work of man.

I have dwelt at some length on the Dáltalá Cutting, because it was the greatest, and apparently the favourite scheme of a man of the highest ability, and at the same time almost the only one of his schemes that has not hitherto borne practical fruit. Among the group of brilliant engineers who have devoted themselves to the rescue of Orissa from floods, Captain J. C. Harris stands forth conspicuous for a rare power of initiative, with a talent for professional observation at once comprehensive and exact. He did not remain long enough in India to reach the highest grades of his profession; but I cannot refrain from bearing testimony to the scientific enthusiasm, and to the noble sympathy for the people, which every one of his papers breathes. It is a spectacle of an earnest nature struggling, by an almost painful exercise of energy, to communicate its own motive power to the cautious weighty mass of which every safe government must consist. There is something very melancholy in the tone of his last report: 'And so the Dáltalá Cutting project, which has produced so much stir, dies out? Nothing further, then, can be done for Orissa after all? She must continue to be inundated as heretofore?' Not so, as a subsequent chapter will show. Many things are possible to the Queen's Government in India that were beyond the means of the East India Company. Captain Harris

realized that the whole art of engineering was to follow nature, and no one better than he knew how slowly nature works. The Dáltalá Cutting, if practicable, would for ever solve the question of floods in Orissa. But, as we have seen, that cutting means the construction of an enormous artificial river, which should dash down a volume of water equal to two-thirds of the Ganges in the time of flood[107] at an almost uncontrollable pace upon the plains. A Government may well shrink from such a responsibility until the less hazardous expedients have been tried; and those who have watched the slow movements by which natural rivers make for themselves channels, will not think a period of ten or even twenty years too long for the consideration of so great an enterprise.[108]

Meanwhile a great geographical feature like the Chilká could not exist without English engineers trying

[107] Maximum flood of Ganges = 1,350,000 cubic feet per second; of Mahánadí = 1,800,000; capacity of Mahánadí distributaries = 900,000; surplus to be carried off by Dáltalá Cutting or otherwise, 900,000. $\frac{900,000}{1,350,000} = \frac{2}{3}$

[108] In giving an account of the Dáltalá Cutting and its difficulties, I have carefully refrained from expressing any view with regard to its practicability. Such an expression, by one who is not a professional engineer, would be simple impertinence. Among the professional correspondence which I have read, amounting to many hundreds of pages, the following papers have been printed by order of Government, and may readily be consulted by those who desire a more exact account than would be suitable in this work:—Second Report from Captain J. C. Harris, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of Cattack River, 1858, particularly paras. 108, 109, 110. Reviewed by Letter No. 1420 from Superintendent of Embankments to Chief Engineer, dated 21st August 1858, paras. 16 to 31. Further reviewed by Letter No. 4470 from Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 9th October 1858, paras. 11 to 19. Further considered in despatch by the President in Council to the Secretary of State, No. 33, dated 14th May 1860, paras. 9 to 14. With regard to keeping open a channel from the Chilká, consult Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Cotton's Report, dated Fort St. George, 12th July 1856, paras. 81 et seq. Third Report by Captain Harris, dated 31st August 1859. Reviewed by letter No. 2668 from Superintending Engineer, Third Circle, to Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, dated 10th October 1859. P. W. D.

to make some use of it. A canal has been projected which would lead from Cattack, straight through the lake, to Ganjám, and thus form a cheap high road for the commerce of Orissa. This scheme, however, is at present under abeyance until more urgently needed enterprises can be completed. But the last section of it, which unites the Chilká with the port of Ganjám, and eventually with the whole of the canal system of northern Madras, has been made.[109] It is a short cutting of eight miles, without locks, suitable for the traffic boats of the Chilká Lake. These boats are nothing but water-tight, flat-bottomed boxes, 40 to 45 feet long by 7 feet wide. They carry ten tons, and draw from 30 inches to 3½ feet when loaded. More than 12,000 cargoes come annually down the lake from the Orissa shores in such boats, and the through traffic between the Purí district and Ganjám, *via* the Chilká, is officially estimated at over 1,000,000 tons per annum. The commodities carried are valued at a quarter of a million of pounds sterling. Until the canal was made, this enormous traffic had to be carried in bullock carts from the southern end of the lake to Ganjám, the total number of cart-loads being more than 190,000 a year.

The lake is also the great highway from the Madras Presidency to the holy city of Purí. In the two months of July and November, 65,000 pilgrims are punted across its waters, and the total number of passengers, according to the official returns, exceeds 180,000 per annum. The canal is intended to catch these passengers at the

[109] Professional Papers. Proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Cotton in para. 87 et seq. of his Report of Professional Tour, dated Fort St. George, 12th July 1856. Discussed in Memorandum No. 3339, from Superintending Engineer, Cattack Circle, to Chief Engineer, Bengal, dated 6th October 1866. Reported as 'completed and navigated' in para. 20 of Special Executive Engineer's letter, dated Chatrapur (Ganjám district), 28th October 1868. G. R. and P. W. D.

southern end of the lake, and to develope the port of Ganjám by giving it water communication with Orissa, in addition to its present outlet to the sea. It was estimated that a small toll of sixpence a ton would yield more than £2500 a year, and pay ten per cent. interest on the capital, after ample provision for repairs and conservancy.[110]

Among many other proposals for utilizing the Chilká, it would be improper to pass over that of Colonel F. C. Cotton for turning it into a fresh-water lake, and reclaiming a vast area of the finest land from its bed. He believed that this could be done without much difficulty, and that the Kolair Lake, 350 miles down the coast, between the mouths of the Krishná and Godávarí, presented a precise analogy to the Chilká. Like the Chilká, the Kolair is connected with the sea by a channel open to the tide, and if left to itself would be salt in the dry season, as the Chilká is at present, and nearly fresh during the rains. But from time immemorial the salt sea water has been excluded by embankments. Under the native Government these were cut every rainy season, to give passage to the river floods that enter the lake. Towards the end of the rains they were built up again before the level had sunk low enough to allow the salt tides to affect the general body of the water. A great expense was thus annually incurred, but the fertile lands reclaimed from the lake gave a profit on the outlay; and now that the operation is economically managed by a weir, which allows the escape of the floods, while preventing the ingress of the tide, the returns are immense.

[110] The above figures are taken from Proceedings of the Madras Government Public Works Department, 20th December 1864, No. 422.

'Such a work,' continues Colonel Cotton, 'is quite practicable between the sea and the Chilká. The rocky islands would afford admirable materials for the purpose. The original mode of cultivating the Kolair was to plant those parts of the bed first which were left bare by the evaporation of the shallow water; and the cultivation extended lower and lower as the water receded during the hot weather. The richest land was at the lowest level; but when the lake dried below a certain point, the water became brackish and unfit for irrigation. There was great gambling in this cultivation, and every year some portion was lost. But the profit from what was saved was so great, that every available acre was taken up, not by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, but by people from a distance, who every year came to bid against each other, and scrambled for a share of the lake. The Godávarí weir has put an end to this. The whole bed of the lake above the level of the brackish water can always be cultivated, and the crops watered, without the slightest risk, by water from the Godávarí. This change might as readily be brought about in the Chilká, the bed of which would no doubt be found equally fertile, while the area of available land would be infinitely greater.' [111]

What may be the future of the Chilká I know not. Like every creation of nature, it has great capabilities for the service of man. But in order that these capabilities should be turned to account, man must himself come forward and grapple with them, and subdue them. Hitherto the Chilká has been known in the records of

[111] Report of a Tour of Professional Inspection, 1856, para. 79. The subsequent paragraphs of this Report contain valuable suggestions with regard to rendering the lake available as a harbour for, if not navigable by, ships. G. R.

the district only by the havoc which from time to time it spreads around its shores. The same capabilities which might become instruments of good, are now engines of devastation. Nature uncontrolled is nature at war with man. The state of the Chilká was the state of the whole world before science and civilisation subdued the earth to their service. We found almost every province of India at the mercy of a few inches more or less of rain. Droughts, famines, floods, and tidal waves ranged across the country like unchained demons, devouring as they went.

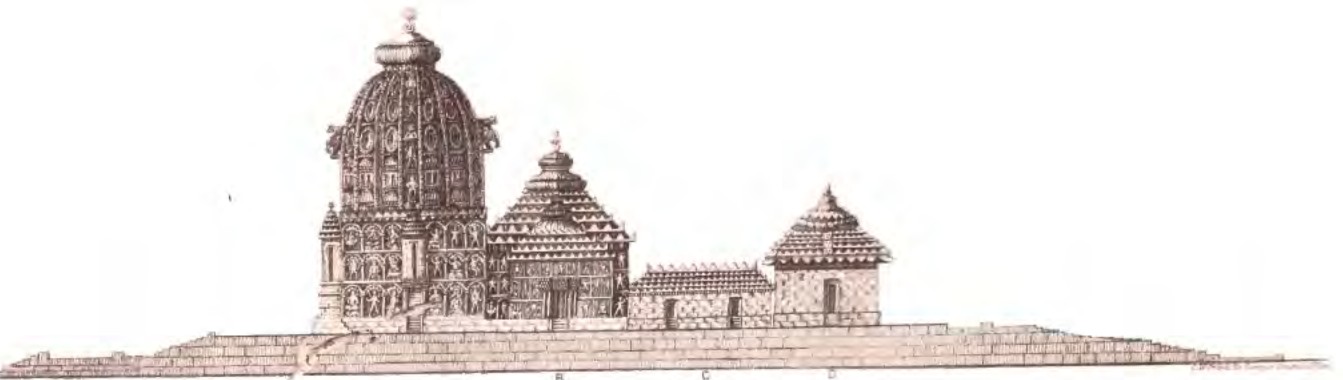
When the history of British rule in India comes to be truly written, it will occupy itself not solely, and indeed not chiefly, with the brilliant achievements of our arms, but rather with those more glorious triumphs of English energy, capital, and skill, by which devastating rivers, and the other stupendous forces of a tropical region, have been controlled to the uses of the humblest tiller of the soil.



THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNÁTH

AT PURI.

(Elevation.)



A TOWERED SANCTUARY CONTAINING IDOLS.
B HALL OF AUDIENCE FOR PILGRIMS.
C PILLARED HALL FOR DANCING GIRLS.
D HALL OF OFFERINGS.



CHAPTER III.

JAGANNATH.

FOR two thousand years Orissa has been the Holy Land of the Hindus. The ancient texts love to dwell on its sanctity. It is 'the land that taketh away sin.'[1] It is 'the realm established by the gods;' and its Sanskrit name, Utkala-désa, literally the Glorious Country, has crystallized the devotional regard of forty generations.[2] 'Of all the regions of the earth,' says an inspired sage in explaining the various places of pilgrimage to his pupils, 'India is the noblest; and of all the countries of India, Utkala boasts the highest renown. From end to end it is one vast region of pilgrimage.[3] Its happy inhabitants live secure of a reception into the world of spirits; and even those who visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins, though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall adequately describe its sacred streams, its temples, its holy places, its fragrant flowers and exquisite fruits? Who shall estimate the soul's gain from a sojourn in such a land?

[1] 'Sarvapápaharandésa.' Kapila Sanhitá, cap. 2.

[2] Mr. John Beames, magistrate of Balasor, the first Bengal civilian who has brought scholarship to bear on the Neo-Aryan languages of India, believes that Utkala means the Outlying Strip, *i.e.* lying beyond the Gangetic valley, from ut + kala = Katila = cut off. He has got the Balasor pandits to accept this signification, but the Purí priests and all the Bráhmans that I have talked to on the subject adhere to the orthodox meaning.

[3] Tírtha.

But what need for enlarging on the praises of a realm in which the gods themselves love to dwell?'[4]

Orissa is divided into four great regions of pilgrimage. From the moment the pilgrim passes the Baitaraní River, on the high road forty miles north-east of Cattack, he treads on holy ground. Behind him lies the secular world, with its cares for the things of this life; before him is the promised land, which he has been taught to regard as a place of preparation for heaven. On the southern side of the river rises shrine after shrine to Siva, the All-Destroyer. On its very bank he beholds the house of Yama, the king of the dead; and as he crosses over, the priest whispers into his ear the last text which is breathed over the dying Hindu at the moment the spirit takes its flight: 'In the dread gloom of Yama's halls is the tepid Baitaraní River.'[5] On leaving the stream he enters Jájpur, literally the City of Sacrifice, the headquarters of the region of pilgrimage,[6] sacred to Párvatí, the wife of the All-Destroyer. To the south-east is the region of pilgrimage sacred to the sun,[7] now scarcely visited, with its matchless ruins looking down in desolate beauty across the Bay of Bengal. To the south-west is the region of pilgrimage dedicated to Siva,[8] with its city of temples, which once clustered, according to native tradition, to the number of seven thousand, around the sacred lake. Beyond this, nearly due south, is the region of pilgrimage beloved of Vishnu, known to every hamlet throughout India, and to every civilised nation on earth, as the abode of Jagannáth, the Lord of the World.[9]

[4] Kapila Sanhitá. Stirling's Account of Orissa Proper, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 166.

[5] Yamálaye mahághore taptá Baitaraní nadí.

[6] Vijayí, or Párvatí Kshetra.

[7] Arka, or Padma Kshetra.

[8] Hara Kshetra.

[9] Vishnu, or Purúshottama Kshetra.

There is not a Fiscal Division in Orissa without its community of cenobites, scarcely a village without fertile abbey lands, and not a single ancient family which has not devoted its best acres to the gods. Hundreds of monasteries dot the province, and enjoy an aggregate rent-roll of £50,000 a year.[10] Every town is filled with temples, and every hamlet has its shrine. This lavish devotion extends into the hill-country. In going up the Mahánadí, I noticed that each rocky islet, or wooded crag that rose from its banks, was crowned, not, as upon the Rhine, by the castle of a noble, but by a temple to some god. Even foreigners feel that they are treading on hallowed ground; and the villagers still tell how the image-breaking Musalmáns retired abashed before the sanctity of Orissa. 'This country is no fit subject for conquest, or for schemes of human ambition,' exclaimed the victorious general of Akbar in 1580; 'it belongs to the gods, and from end to end is one region of pilgrimage.'[11]

This national reverence for holy places has been for ages concentrated on the city of Purí, sacred to Vishnu under his title of Jagannáth, the Lord of the World. As the outlying position of Orissa long saved it from conquest, and from that dilapidation of ancient Hindu shrines and rites which marks the Muhammadan line of march through India, so Purí, built upon its extreme south-eastern shore, and protected on the one side by the surf, and on the other by swamps and inundations, is the corner of Orissa which has been most left to itself. On these inhospitable sands, Hindu religion and Hindu

[10] Report of Committee to inquire into the Maths of Orissa, dated 25th March 1869, para. 15.

[11] Stirling, As. Res. xv. 167, 291.

superstition have stood at bay for eighteen centuries against the world. Here is the national temple whither the people flock to worship from every province of India. Here is the Swarga-dwára, the Gate of Heaven, whither thousands of pilgrims come to die, lulled to their last sleep by the roar of the eternal ocean. Twenty generations of devout Hindus have gone through life, haunted with a perpetual yearning to visit this shrine. On its fever-stricken sand-hills a nation's adoring love has been lavished. They are Purí, '*the* City' of its religious aspirations on earth; they are Purushottama, the dwelling of Vishnu, 'the Best of Men;' they are the symbolical Blue Mountain; they are the mystic navel of the earth. 'Even Siva is unable to comprehend its glory; how feeble, then, the efforts of mortal men!'[12]

This great yearning after Jagannáth is to some extent the outcome of centuries of companionship in suffering between the people and their god. In every disaster of Orissa, Jagannáth has borne his share. In every flight of the people before an invading power, he has been their comrade. The priests, indeed, put the claims of their god upon higher ground. 'In the first boundless space,' they say, 'dwelt the Great God, whom men call Náráyan, or Parameswar, or Jagannáth.' But without venturing beyond this world's history, the first indistinct dawn of Orissa tradition discloses Purí as the refuge of an exiled creed. In the uncertain dawn of Indian tradition, the highly spiritual doctrines of Buddha obtained shelter here; and the Golden Tooth of the founder remained for centuries at Purí, then the Jerusalem of the Buddhists, as it has for centuries been of the Hindus.

[12] Vernacular tract sold to pilgrims at the door of the temple; Amos Sutton's Orissa, p. 124.

Jagannáth makes his first historical appearance in the year 318 A.D., when the priests fled with the sacred image, and left an empty city to Red-arm and his buccaneers. For 150 years it remained buried in the western jungles, till a pious prince drove out the foreigners, and brought back the sacred Log. Three times has it been buried in the Chilká Lake; and whether the invaders were pirates from the sea, or the devouring cavalry of Afghánistán, the first thing that the people saved was their god.

Nor was lord Jagannáth, although hurried away helpless in a covered cart, unable to defend himself by spiritual arms. In 1558 the Musalmán general tracked him to his hiding-place, and digging him up, carried him off on an elephant to the Ganges. There he determined to make an end of the god of Orissa, and threw him on a blazing pile of wood. In the same moment the vaunting Musalmán's limbs dropped off, and he fell dead. A looker-on snatched the image unharmed from the fire, and cast it into the river. Holy Mother Ganges knew the god, and floated him safely down her stream, till a priest, who had followed Jagannáth into exile, rescued him from the river, and extracting the immortal part from his bosom, brought it safely back to Orissa.[13]

But the true source of Jagannáth's undying hold upon the Hindu race consists in the fact that he is the god of the people. As long as his towers rise upon the Purí sands, so long will there be in India a perpetual and visible protest of the equality of man before God. His apostles penetrate to every hamlet of Hindustán preaching the sacrament of the Holy Food.[14] The poor

[13] Madala Pánji, or Temple Chronicle, cited As. Res. xv. 290.

[14] Maháprasád, rice offered to Jagannáth, and then eaten by the pilgrims.

outcast learns that there is a city on the far eastern shore in which high and low eat together. In his own village, if he accidentally touches the clothes of a man of good caste, he has committed a crime, and his outraged superior has to wash away the pollution before he can partake of food or approach his god. In some parts of the country the lowest castes are not permitted to build within the towns, and their miserable hovels cluster amid heaps of broken potsherds and dunghills on the outskirts. Throughout the southern part of the continent it used to be a law, that no man of these degraded castes might enter the village before nine in the morning or after four in the evening, lest the slanting rays of the sun should cast his shadow across the path of a Bráhman. But in the presence of the Lord of the World priest and peasant are equal. The rice that has once been placed before the god can never cease to be pure, or lose its reflected sanctity. In the courts of Jagannáth, and outside the Lion Gate, 100,000 pilgrims every year are joined in the sacrament of eating the holy food. The lowest may demand it from or give it to the highest.[15] Its sanctity overleaps all barriers, not only of caste, but of race and hostile faiths; and I have seen a Purí priest put to the test of receiving the food from a Christian's hand.

Woe to him who denies the divine efficacy of the Maháprasád, the Great Offering! A hundred tales among the people warn priestly arrogance of the wrath of a despised god. There came a proud man from Northern India, who swore that he would look upon the Lord of the World, but that he would eat no leavings of

[15] The limits now placed on this equality are explained towards the end of the chapter. The above represents rather the ancient doctrine than the present practice.

mortal or immortal being. But as he crossed the bridge outside the sacred city, his arms and legs fell off, and there he lay on the road-side for two months, till a dog came out of the town eating a fragment of the holy food, and dropped some as he passed. The proud man crawled forward on his stomach, and grubbing with his mouth in the mire, ate the leavings, all slavered from the jaws of the unclean animal. Thereupon the mercy of the good lord Jagannáth visited him; new limbs were given to him, and he entered the holy city as a humble disciple.[16] 'God's pity,' says the chief apostle of Jagannáth, 'knows neither family nor tribe.'[17] 'Not the learned in the four holy scriptures, but the lowly man who believes, is dear to me; to him be given, and from him be received; let him be reverenced even as I am reverenced.'[18]

Besides this perpetual appeal to the popular instinct, the worship of Jagannáth aims at a catholicism which embraces every form of Indian belief, and every Indian conception of the Deity. Nothing is too high, and nothing is too low, to find admission into his temple. The fetishism and bloody rites of the aboriginal races, the mild flower-worship of the Vedas, and every compromise between the two, along with the lofty spiritualities of the great Indian Reformers, have here found refuge. The rigid monotheism of Rámánuja in the twelfth century, the monastic system of Rámánand in the fifteenth, the mystic quietism of Çhaitanya at the beginning of the sixteenth, and the luxurious love-worship of the Vallabhácháris towards its close, mingle within the walls of Jagannáth at this present day. He

[16] I got this story from an Uriya servant.
[17] Iswarerkripá játi kula náhi máne. Chaitanya Charitámrita.
[18] Na me bhaktaschaturvedí, madbhaktah swapachah priyah,
Tasmai deyam tato gráhyam, sa cha pújyo yathá hyaham.

is Vishnu, under whatever form and by whatever title men call upon his name.

But not content with thus representing Vishnu in all his manifestations, the priests have superadded the worship of the other members of the Hindu trinity in their various shapes; and the disciple of every Indian sect can find his beloved rites, and some form of his chosen deity, within the sacred precincts. Scholars tell us that in pre-historic times the Hindu race fell into polytheism by recognising God too vividly in His manifestations, and worshipping the work rather than the worker. Jagannáth represents the final result of the converse process. It exhibits the goal to which a highly intellectual race painfully arrives after ages of polytheism, during which the masses were sunk in darkness, while the higher spirits of each generation have been groping after the One Eternal Deity. Noble conceptions of the Creator, and profound views concerning His dealings with man, are welded together with degrading superstitions, and declare how vain are the efforts of the human intellect to search out God.

Here, then, is a great phenomenon in the inner history of a nation, over which those who would study the workings of the religious instinct in man's heart will do well to pause. In order to understand what Jagannáth now is to the Hindus, it is necessary to learn what he has for ages been. I purpose, therefore, to examine stage by stage that complex growth of enchaining superstitions and of yearnings after truth, which, nourished by the pilgrim bones of centuries, and watered by the tears of millions of disciples, now spreads itself out in full-grown luxuriance upon the Purí sands.

The very origin of Jagannáth proclaims him not

less the god of the Bráhmans than of the low-caste aboriginal races. The various accounts differ less in their substance than in their details. The following story of the Divine Log is one of the most popular legends of Orissa, and was taken down for me upon the spot.[19]

For a long time in the golden age, men had been seeking for the god Vishnu throughout the earth. So the good king Indradyumna sent out Bráhmans from his realm of Málwa to the east and to the west, and to the north and to the south. And those who went to the west, and to the north, and to the south, returned; but he who went to the east returned not. For he who had gone to the east had journeyed through the great jungle till he came to the country of the Savars, the old people of Orissa, and there he dwelt in the house of Básu, a fowler of the wilderness; and Básu, seeing the man to be a Bráhman, had forced him by threats to marry his daughter, and thus to bring honour to his tribe. This the Bráhman did, and abode in the villages of the ancient people.

Now Básu was a servant of Jagannáth, the lord of the world, and daily he went into the jungle to offer fruits and flowers in secret to his god. But one morning, moved by the prayers of his daughter, he took the Bráhman with him, binding his eyes by the way, so that he might behold the lord Jagannáth in his holy place, and yet that he should not know the way thither. Then the Bráhman, having received from his wife a bag of mustard-seed, dropped it as he went blindfold through

[19] It is entitled the Dáru Brahma, and has a wide circulation in the vernacular. Like most of the religious legends of the people, it is an adaptation from the Puránas. For printed accounts, see As. Res. xv. 317; Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 10; Ward's History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus, ii. 163, quarto ed., Serampore 1815.

the forest till he reached the shrine, and the old man unbound his eyes. There he beheld lord Jagannáth in the form of a blue stone image,[20] at the foot of the undying fig-tree. Presently the old man left him, and went to gather the daily offering of flowers. Then the Bráhman prayed to the Lord of the World. And as he poured out his heart, a crow that sat rocking herself upon a branch above fell down before the god, and suddenly taking a glorious form, soared into the heaven of Vishnu. The Bráhman, seeing how easy the path to eternal bliss appeared to be from this holy spot, climbed into the tree, and would have thrown himself down; but a voice from heaven cried, 'Hold, Bráhman! First carry to thy king the good news that thou hast found the Lord of the World.'

At the same moment the fowler came back with his newly gathered fruits and flowers, and spread them out before the image. But, alas, the god came not, according to his wont, to partake of the offering. Only a voice was heard saying, 'Oh, faithful servant, I am wearied of thy jungle flowers and fruits, and crave for cooked rice and sweetmeats. No longer shalt thou see me in the form of thy Blue God.[21] Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannáth, the lord of the world.' Then the fowler sorrowfully led the Bráhman back to his house, but the Blue God appeared no more to that poor man of the ancient people.

For a long time the fowler kept the Bráhman captive in the wilderness; but at last, moved by the tears of his daughter, he allowed him to depart to tell that the Lord

[20] The common chlorite of the Orissa hills, of which all the ancient images now found in Orissa are made.

[21] Níl-Mádhab.

of the World had been found. When the king heard the good news he rejoiced, and set out with his army of 1,300,000 footmen, and a vast company of wood-cutters to hew a road through the great jungle. So they journeyed 800 miles, till they reached the Blue Mountain. Then the king's heart swelled within him, and he cried, 'Who is like unto me, whom the Lord of the World has chosen to build his temple, and to teach men in this age of darkness to call on his name?' But the lord Jagannáth was wroth at the king's pride, and a voice was heard from heaven saying, 'O king! thou shalt indeed build my temple, but me thou shalt not behold. When it is finished, then thou shalt seek anew for thy god.' At that same moment the blue image vanished from off the earth.

So the king built the temple, but saw not the god; and when the temple was finished, he found no man on earth holy enough to consecrate it. Therefore King Indradyumna went to heaven to beg Brahmá to come down and consecrate the temple. But Brahmá had just begun his devotions, and could not be disturbed. Now the devotions of Brahmá last for nine ages of mortal men; and while Indradyumna waited in heaven, many other kings had reigned on earth. The city that he had built around the temple had crumbled into ruins, and the lofty fane itself was buried under the drifting sand of the sea. One day, as the king of the place was riding along the beach, his horse stumbled against the pinnacle of the forgotten shrine. Then his servants, searching to find the cause, dug away the sand, and there was the temple of lord Jagannáth, fair and fresh as at the time of its building.

So when Brahmá's devotions were over, and he

came down with Indradyumna to consecrate the shrine, the king of the place claimed it as the work of his own hands. Therefore Brahmá commanded that witnesses should be heard, and first he called upon the crow. But the crow was busy with her devotions, and cried, 'Who art thou that callest me?' 'It is I, Brahma, the master of the Vedas; and dost thou, poor carrion-bird, dare to despise my summons?' Then said the ancient crow, 'Which Brahmá art thou? I have seen a thousand Brahmás live and die.[22] There was he with a thousand faces, whose existence was as a period of five days to me. Thou wast born but yesterday from the body of Vishnu, and commandest thou me!' Then Brahmá entreated the crow, and she declared that it was Indradyumna that had built the temple.

But for all this, King Indradyumna found not the god. So with austerities and penance he ceased not to call upon Jagannáth, till the Lord of the World appeared to him in a vision, and showed him his image as a block of timber half thrown up from the ocean upon the sand. Then the king, with his army and 5000 male elephants, tried to drag the block with crimson cords to the temple; but he could not, until, chidden for his presumption by lord Jagannáth in a vision, he summoned Básu the fowler to his aid.

Thereafter the king gathered together all the carpenters in his country, and gave them lands and villages as the price for fashioning the block into an image of lord Jagannáth. But when they put their chisels on the wood, the iron lost its edge; and when they struck

[22] The legend speaks of Brahma with the last syllable short, as the one supreme God; the crow, by lengthening the final syllable, replies to him as Brahmá, one of the members of the Hindu triad.

them with their mallets, the mallets missed and crushed their hands; till at last the lord Vishnu came down in the form of an aged carpenter, and by signs and wonders declared his power unto the king. Him the king shut up alone in the temple with the block, and swore that no man should enter for twenty-one days, sealing the doors with his own seal. But the queen longed to see the face of the god, that he might redeem her life from barrenness. So she persuaded her husband; and he, opening the door before the end of the promised time, found the three images of Jagannáth, and his brother and sister, fashioned from the waist upwards. But Jagannáth and his brother had only stumps for arms, while his sister had none at all, and even so they remain to this day. Then the king prayed to the god; and being asked to choose a blessing, begged that offerings should never cease in all time to come before the images, and that the temple should ever remain open from daybreak until midnight for the salvation of mankind.

'So shall it be,' said the vision. 'But they are matters which concern me. Ask for thyself.' 'I ask, then,' said the king, 'that I may be the last of my race, that none who come after me may say, I built this temple; I taught men to call on the name of Jagannáth.' Thus it fell out that the good king Indradyumna was the last of his line.

In this legend at least two distinct stories are mixed up. Its latter part probably refers to the exile of Jagannáth during the Yavana occupation of Orissa, A.D. 318 to 473. The pious founder of the Lion dynasty, who expelled the intruders, is still called the second Indradyumna; and the rebuilder of the temple in A.D. 1198 also enjoys this title. The first part of the legend

shadows forth the original importation of Vishnu-worship by an Aryan king from the north-west, and its amalgamation with the aboriginal rites existing in Orissa. It is worthy of note, that although a Bráhman figures in this as in all the religious legends of the Hindus, he is not the principal person. An ancient text mentions that Vishnu was specially the god of the kingly and warrior caste,[23] and we find in this legend that it is the king who plays the chief part in introducing his worship.

In another volume I have pointed out that every Aryan family of ancient descent in Lower Bengal traces its origin to Upper India.[24] So, when we come to analyze the legends of Aryan faith, we find that the gods of the lower valley of the Ganges begin with a migration from the north. The salient points in such stories are always the same. They consist essentially of a Bráhman or Rájput from Upper India, and of a race of herdsmen or hunters in the great jungle of Lower Bengal. Every ancient pedigree, whether of a family or a god, in Lower Bengal, ring the changes on these very simple materials, and proclaim in an unmistakeable manner that the Aryan march through India was not entirely one of conquest. In most of these legends the aboriginal race turns up again and again, long after the first Aryan settlement among them. Nor do the primitive tribes appear invariably as serfs or as hewers of wood, but sometimes as warlike allies, or, as in the case of Básu the fowler, in mysterious connection with the introduction of the present Hindu faith.

In the foregoing legend we find the aboriginal

[23] H. H. Wilson's Works, i. 2.

[24] Cf. 'The Pandit's Chronicle of Beerbhoom,' p. 426 of my Annals of Rural Bengal, vol. i. 3d ed.

people worshipping a blue stone in the depths of the forest. But the deity has grown tired of the jungle offerings of the primitive people, and longs for the cooked food of the more civilised Aryan race. When the Aryan element at length comes on the scene, the rude blue stone disappears, and gives place to a carved image. At the present hour, in every hamlet of Orissa, this twofold worship co-exists. The common people have their shapeless stone or block, which they adore with simple rites in the open air; while side by side with it is a temple to one of the Aryan gods, with its carved image and elaborate rites. Some shapeless log, or a black stone, or the red-stained trunk of a tree, is still the object of adoration among the masses. I have questioned the villagers a hundred times about their religious beliefs. But the answer has invariably been, 'that the common people have no idea of religion but to do right, and to worship the village god.'

In the reply of the crow to Brahmá is preserved an acknowledgment that the present Aryan system of worship was preceded by religious cycles that have disappeared. The Aryan king might come with his army from the north, but he had to accept as his deity the primitive god of the country. Even after the temple had been built, everything was again at a stand-still, until the fowler of the wilderness, although now one of the lowest castes, reappears upon the scene. The poor aboriginal bird-killer, whose blue stone image disappeared before the Bráhmans and their elaborate rites, has for hundreds of years been known by the name[25] of

[25] The etymology of Vásu-deva is explained in the Vishnu Purána, lib. i. cap. 2, as 'the god who dwells in all things, and in whom all things dwell' (*sarvatrásau samastam cha vasatyatra*); from the root, *vas*, to dwell. Also

Básu, an epithet from which the god Vishnu derives one of his most august titles.

The worship of Vishnu was not, however, the first form of the Aryan faith that penetrated these remote jungles of the seaboard. In another chapter I shall relate how, for centuries before and after the birth of Christ, the rock caves of Orissa resounded with the chants of Buddhist monks, hymning the praises of one God. But about the fourth century of our era, Buddhism in Orissa begins to lose its sharply marked identity, and we become conscious that other forms of spiritual life are struggling to evolve themselves. What were the birth-throes of these new faiths, we know not; but three centuries later we find the process complete. The great City of Temples, Bhuvaneswar, dedicated to Siva, dates from the seventh century. This worship incorporated the doctrines of the Aryan conquerors with the rites of the aboriginal races. The doctrines were spiritual, and it kept them in the inner sanctuary for its Aryan priests. Its rites were gross and bloody, and it paraded them in its outer courts as a bait to the mixed populace. It fixed its seat in the west of Purí district, where the mountains and forest tracts of Central India slope down on the alluvial plain. There it struck its roots deep in the ignorance

in the Mahábhárata, see H. H. Wilson's note to the Vishnu Purána, vol. i. p. 17, ed. 1864. Vásu, the name of the fowler in my legend, etymologically means 'the dweller.' It has probably been given to him by the Sanskrit writer of the legend, by a reflex process from the name of his god Vásu-deva, or because he is the typical aboriginal dweller in the land throughout the story. The word is also used as a name for Vishnu, and the writer of the legend may mean that the aboriginal fowler was himself Vishnu in an earlier form. The legend as I have received it gives the first syllable long,—thus, Básu; and the initial *v* is pronounced *b* by the Uriyas, as by the Bengális. There are eight Vasus (with the first syllable short) in Hindu mythology, viz. Soma, the moon; Anila, the wind; Anala, fire; Dhava; Dhruva; Pratyusha; Prabhása; and Vishnu. I have taken the above from the Sabdakalpadruma of Rájá Rádhá Kánta Dev, and the Bengali Sabdártha Ratnamálá.

and the fears of a people who knew God only by the more terrible manifestations of His power; as a God mighty indeed, but to be dreaded rather than loved. It deliberately utilized the religious instinct of the aboriginal races—an instinct always morbidly sensitive among forest tribes—to shut them out from God, and to enslave them to man. And so it built for itself its vast City of Temples around the sacred lake,—a city which for twelve centuries has lifted its thousand towers and pinnacles in protest to the blue heaven against the priestly impiety which founded the worship of God on the ignorance of His people.

But side by side with Siva-worship, we are dimly conscious of another spiritual form struggling into life. The worship of Vishnu likewise took its doctrines and all its inner mysteries from the ancient Aryan faith, and engrafted upon them rites which appealed to the imaginations and the passions of a tropical race. Both Sivaism and Vishnuvism were attempts to bring the gods down to men. The former plunged boldly into the abyss of superstition, and erected its empire without shame or scruple upon the ignorance and terrors of the people. The worship of Vishnu shrank from such lengths, and tried to create a system wide enough and strong enough for a national religion, by mixing a somewhat less base alloy with the fine gold of Aryan spirituality. It was a religion in all things graceful. Its gods are bright, friendly beings, who walk and converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Grecian beauty. But pastoral simplicities and an exquisite ritual had no chance against a system like Sivaism, that pandered to the grossest superstitions of the masses. The spiritual element in Vishnu-worship has no doubt always existed among the

Aryan settlements throughout India. But its popular conquests have generally been subsequent to those of Sivaism; and this is the case in a very marked manner in Orissa, the province with which I have now to deal.

In the eleventh century the Vishnuvite doctrines were gathered into a great religious treatise. The Vishnu Purána dates from about the year 1045 A.D.,[26] and probably represents, as indeed its name implies, 'ancient' forms of belief that had co-existed with Sivaism and Buddhism for centuries. It derives its system from the Vedas; not, however, in a direct channel, but filtered through the two great epic poems. It forms one of eighteen religious treatises which, under the name of Purános, or the Ancient Sayings, are devoted to the mythology and legendary history of the Hindus. These works especially extol the members of the Hindu Trinity, now claiming the pre-eminence for Vishnu, and now for Siva; but in their nobler flights always rising to a recognition that both are but manifestations of one eternal God.

Interesting and valuable as these records are to European scholars, they were but dry husks for a nation's soul to feed upon. Their interminable dialogues run to 1,600,000 lines.[27] But we search through the unwieldy mass in vain for any genuine sympathy with the people. They embodied the esoteric faith which nourished Aryan pride in secret, and which has produced that terrible gulf between the Bráhmans and the masses in modern India. The Vishnu Purána, compiled barely 800 years ago, starts with an intolerance equal to that of the ancient

[26] H. H. Wilson's computation, p. cxii. of Preface to the Vishnu Purána, ed. 1864.

[27] H. H. Wilson, Vishnu Purána, p. xxiv.

code of Manu. It still declares the priests to have sprung from the mouth, and the low-castes from the feet, of God.[28] Its stately theogony disdains to touch the legends of the people. Its cosmography confines itself to the Aryan world. It declares, indeed, that there is one God; but this God is the God of the Bráhmans, to whom he gives the earth as an inheritance, and in whose eyes the ancient races are as demons or wild beasts. In the Vishnu Purána, Buddha is still an arch-heretic who teaches the masses to despise the Veda, but whose disciples are eventually crushed by the bright Aryan gods. It is true that in the concluding book, when treating of the last Iron Age to which this world has now come, some nobler idea of God's dealing with man gleams forth. In that time of universal dissolution and darkness, the sage consoles us by the fact, that devotion to Vishnu will suffice for salvation to all persons and to all castes.[29]

Vishnuvism had to preach a far different doctrine before it could become, as it has for ages been, the popular religion of Orissa. These withered sticks of mythology could never blossom forth into a national faith. Sivaism had also its ancient sayings, and it outrivalled Vishnu-worship by a ritual singularly adapted to terrify and enchain the masses. But about the middle of the twelfth century a great change began to take place. Up to that time, Vishnuvism had been the religion of the upper ranks. Jagannáth, although unknown to the Vedas, had ever been the companion of the ruling race in Orissa. We find him sharing the flights of the priests, and appearing in the dreams of kings. But from the twelfth century a curious movement began. Vishnuvism in its turn

[28] Vishnu Purána, lib. i. cap. vi.
[29] Vishnu Purána, lib. vi. cap. ii.; H. H. Wilson, V. P. cxxxviii. 1864.

began to throw itself upon the people. Sivaism had enlisted their ignorant terrors; Vishnuvism was soon to appeal to the eternal instinct of human liberty and equality. The first stirring of the waters commenced in Southern India. There, Rámánuja, about 1150 A.D., persecuted from city to city, proclaimed the unity of God under the title of Vishnu, the Cause and the Creator of all. The preacher made converts from every class, but it was reserved for his successors formally to enunciate equality of caste before God as an article of the Vishnuvite faith.

And meanwhile the great temple of Jagannáth, which now stands at Purí, was built. It was a last magnificent assertion of autocratic devotion. In 1174 A.D. King Anang Bhim Deo, Lord of Elephants, ascended the throne of Orissa. He ruled áll the country from the Hughly River on the north to the Godávarí on the south, and from the forest frontier of Sonpur on the west, eastward to the Bay of Bengal. This vast kingdom he measured with rods, assigning nearly two-thirds for the support of his armies and priests, while more than one-third paid rent direct into the royal treasury for the king's own pleasures. The whole extended over forty thousand square miles.[30] But in the midst of his grandeur he was struck down by a great calamity. He unhappily slew a Bráhman, and the rest of his life became one grand expiation of the guilt. Tradition relates that he built sixty stone temples to the gods; bridged ten broad rivers; dug forty great wells, and encased them with solid masonry; constructed one hundred and fifty-two flights of stairs on the river-banks as bathing places and points of transit; founded four

[30] Stirling, As. Res. 270.

hundred and fifty colonies of Bráhmans upon lands granted out of the royal demesne; and excavated one million of tanks to protect the crops of the husbandmen.

To him appeared lord Jagannáth in a dream, and commanded him to journey to the sands of Purí, and there to call on his name. So the king in the twelfth year of his reign journeyed to Purí, and offered up his prayers. Thereafter he gathered around him his princes and vassals, and all the chief men of his state, and said: 'Hear, O chiefs and princes! It is known to you that the kings of the ancient Lion Line ruled a wide country, and enjoyed a revenue of fifteen hundred thousand measures of gold. But by the grace of lord Jagannáth, the princes of my line have subdued many chiefs, and peoples, and enlarged the kingdom, so that my revenues are now three and a half millions of measures of gold. Out of this I have assigned fixed sums for the payment of my generals, for the captains of my horse and of my elephants, for the priests, and for the temples of the gods. Princes and chiefs! touch not these grants, lest ye suffer the penalty which the holy scriptures denounce against those who take back that which has been given. Above all, in the countries under your charge, be merciful to the people. Be just to the husbandmen, and exact no more than the established rates. And now I have gathered together a great treasure. Four millions of measures of gold have I taken from the nations I conquered, and jewels to the value of eight hundred thousand measures of gold besides. What can I do better with this great treasure than build a temple to the lord Jagannáth? Speak freely your minds with regard to the work.'

And so the great temple of Jagannáth was built as

it now stands, all the chiefs and princes applauding the king's speech. Gold and jewels to the value of a million and a half measures of gold were set apart for the work, being estimated at half a million sterling in the money of our time. Fourteen years the artificers laboured, and the temple was finished in A.D. 1198.[31]

At the end of the thirteenth century according to some authorities, or at the end of the fourteenth according to others, the great reformation which made Vishnu-worship a national religion of India took place. The early movement in Southern India had left behind it a line of disciples. Rámánand was the first in the inspired descent to illustrate the doctrines in Northern India. Whether he was the immediate disciple of the southern teacher, or the fourth or fifth in the descent, matters little to us. We only know for certain, that when the first religious awakenings were taking place in modern Europe, there appeared in Hindustán a prophet of note, who wandered from place to place, preaching One God to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and choosing twelve disciples, not from among the priests or nobles, but from the despised castes. One of them was a leather-dresser, another of them a barber, and the most distinguished of them all was a weaver. The list shows that every caste, without distinction, found free entrance into the new faith. The life of a disciple was no life of ease. He was called upon to forsake the world in its literal sense, and to go about preaching or teaching, and living on alms. His old age found an asylum in some

[31] 1198 according to Brij Kishore Ghose's Hist. Purí, p. 10, and Mr. Fergusson's Hist. of Architecture, ii. 592; but 1196 according to Stirling, As. Res. xv. 269, which is probably a misprint for 1198, as the latter date is subsequently given at p. 315. The king's speech is abridged from As. Res. xv. 270–1.

monastery of his sect. These foundations will be subsequently described. In the meanwhile, it will suffice to explain that they are religious houses, generally endowed by some wealthy votary, in which dwell from four to forty monks, presided over by a superior of the order.

Rámánand's work upon earth was the proclamation of the equality of man before God. The original founder in Southern India had sufficiently declared the unity of the Deity. Indeed, this doctrine had always been grasped by the better spirits in every generation of the Sanskrit-speaking race. But the southern teacher, while making converts from all ranks, had addressed himself chiefly to the pure Aryan castes. He wrote in the language of the Bráhmans, and took their ancient scriptures as the subject of his writings. The northern reformer had the courage to trust his cause to the people. The literature of his sect consists of practical treatises on the religion of daily life, and they are written in the dialects familiar to the masses.

The waves of this reformation seem to have reached the remote sands of Purí about the end of the fourteenth century. Kabír, one of the twelve disciples of Rámánand, carried his master's doctrine throughout Bengal. A monastery called after his name exists in Purí at the present day. As his master had laboured to gather together all castes of the Hindus in one common faith, so Kabír, seeing that the Hindus were in his time no longer the whole inhabitants of India, tried to build up a religion that would embrace Hindu and Muhammadan alike. The voluminous writings of his sect contain the amplest acknowledgment that the God of the Hindu is also the God of the Musalmán. His universal name is The Inner, whether he may be invoked as the Alí of the Muhammadans, or as the Ráma of the Hindus. 'To Alí and

Ráma we owe our life, and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Musalmán on the Ramazán. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe? The city of the Hindu God is to the east, the city of the Musalmán God is to the west; but explore your own heart, for there is the God both of the Musalmáns and of the Hindus. Behold but One in all things. He to whom the world belongs, He is the father of the worshippers alike of Alí and of Ráma. He is my guide, He is my priest.'[32]

The moral code of Kabír is as beautiful as his doctrine. It consists in humanity, in truthfulness, in retirement, and in obedience to the spiritual guide. In humanity; for 'life is the gift of God,' and 'the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a crime.' In truthfulness; for 'all the ills of the world, and ignorance of God, are attributable to original falsehood.'[33] In retirement; because the passions and perturbations of this earth ruffle the tranquillity of man's soul, and interfere with his contemplation of God. In obedience to the spiritual guide; but the disciple is enjoined first of all to examine well the life and doctrine of him who professes to take charge of souls. 'When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well.'[34]

[32] Sabda lvi., abridged from H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. i. p. 81.
[33] *Idem*, vol. i. p. 94.
[34] One of the 5000 Sákhís, or pithy sayings, of Kabír.

Kabír's teaching marks another great stride in the reformation of Vishnu-worship. His master had asserted the equality of castes, because he confused the deity and the worshipper. He had regarded the devotee as but a manifestation of the divinity, and no lowness of birth could degrade the Godhead. As Vishnu had taken the form of several of the inferior animals, such as the boar and the fish incarnations, so he might be born in a man of any caste.

But Kabír based his catholicity on no ancient fable. 'In the heart, where truth abides, there dwell I.' His respect for humanity was arrived at, therefore, not by bringing down God to his worshipper, but by elevating the heart of the worshipper to God. Loving legends surround his life and wanderings. The Musalmáns claim him as one of their own people. The low-caste Hindus assert he was a weaver; the upper classes believe him to have been a miraculously born child of the Bráhman caste. The virgin widow of a Bráhman, we are told, went with her father to visit the holy Rámánand. The sage, without remarking her widow's garments, greeted her with the salutation suited to married women, and wished that a son might be born to her. The words of the holy man, once uttered, could not be recalled. The young widow in due time bore a son, which in an agony of shame she exposed by the wayside, where it was found by a weaver and his wife.

Of Kabír's death it is recorded that both Hindus and Musalmáns claimed the body; the former desiring to burn it, and the latter to bury it, according to their respective rites. While they wrangled over the corpse, Kabír suddenly stood in the midst, and commanding them to look under the shroud, vanished. This they did.

But under the winding-sheet they found only a heap of beautiful flowers, one half of which they gave to be burned in the holy city of the northern Hindus, while the other half was buried in great pomp by the Musalmáns, and a tomb erected on the spot. His name lives in the memory of the people, and pilgrims from Upper India beg a spoonful of rice-water from the Kabír monastery at Purí to this day.

The labours of Kabír may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.D. In 1485 Chaitanya was born. As Kabír was the Vishnuvite reformer of Hindustán, so Chaitanya was the prophet of Orissa, and for twelve years laboured to extend the worship of Jagannáth. Signs and wonders attended him through life, and during four centuries he has been worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. For thirteen months the holy child lay in the womb. An eclipse ended as he entered the world. On the lonely shores of Purí he was visited by beatific sights and revelations. On one occasion he beheld the host of heaven sporting upon the blue waves, and plunged into the ocean in a religious ecstasy, but was miraculously returned to earth in a fisherman's net. After forty-two years of preaching, he disappeared in A.D. 1527. 1534

Extricating ourselves from the halo of legends which surround and obscure the apostle, we know little of his private life, except that he was the son of a Silhet Bráhman, settled at Nadiya, near Calcutta; that in his youth he married the daughter of a celebrated saint; that at twenty-four he forsook the world, and renouncing the state of a householder, repaired to Orissa, and devoted the rest of his life to the propagation of his faith. But with regard to his doctrines we have the most ample evidence. No caste and no race was beyond the pale

of salvation. The Musalmáns shared his labours, and profited by his preaching as well as the Hindus. He held that all men are alike capable of faith, and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Contemplation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation. Obedience to the religious guide is the great characteristic of his sect; but he warned his disciples to respect their teachers as second fathers, and not as gods. The great end of his system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of the soul. He held that such liberation does not merely mean the annihilation of separate existence. It consists in nothing more than an entire freedom from the stains and the frailties of the body. The liberated soul dwells for ever, either in a blessed region of perfect beauty and sinlessness, or it soars into the heaven of Vishnu himself, high above the myths and mirages of this world, where God appears no more in His mortal incarnations, or in any other form, but is known in His supreme essence.

It is impossible to listen to an account of the Chaitanya system without being reminded of that transcendental Quietism in which the more beautiful spirits of France, deeply penetrated by the Reformation, but still clinging to the exquisite ancient faith, sought comfort. As Madame Guyon likened the soul's journey to a river, and analyzed its progress with almost morbid precision, so Chaitanya formulated the states through which the human spirit must pass towards a perfect communion with God. The first religious stage is indifference to the world,[35] such as was felt by the holy sages of yore; the second is active service to God;[36] the third is a

[35] Sánti. [36] Dásya.

personal friendship for the Deity;[37] the fourth is a tender affection for Him, as the attachment between parent and child;[38] the fifth is a passionate love, such as the forest nymphs felt for their divine lover.[39]

The truth is, that all the more devotional races of mankind have evolved some form or other of Quietism. The Persian Sufís have their four degrees of spiritual perfection.[40] In the first, the disciple struggles to withdraw his mind from this world by religious observances; in the second, he ascends from outward forms and ceremonies to the inner worship of the heart; the third is one of perfect sanctity; the fourth an absolute union in thought and spirit with God. The Muhammadan Sufís and Hindu Vishnuvites, more distinctly than Madame Guyon, make the soul's journey to end in transcendental beatitude and sinlessness even upon earth. Faith,[41] not works, is the road to salvation; and a passionate longing after God, at times rising to heights of unearthly ecstasy, at others swooning away into dreamy religious voluptuousness, is the frame of mind after which all should seek. Hand in hand with faith goes love. In the earlier stages of spiritual life, such love as a servant may have for his master, or a friend for a friend, will suffice; but it should gradually ascend into that higher affection which a father has for his children, ending at last in the perfect love of husband and wife.

The followers of Chaitanya belong to every caste, but they acknowledge the rule of the descendants of the

[37] Sákhya. [38] Vátsalya.

[39] Mádhurya. H. H. Wilson, Works, i. 164, from which volume the materials for the foregoing account of the Indian reformers are chiefly derived.

[40] Introduction to the Chaitanya-Chandrodaya, edited by Bábu Rájendra Lála Mitra. 1854.

[41] Bhakti.

six original disciples.[42] The sect is open alike to the married and the unmarried. It has its celibates and wandering mendicants, but its religious teachers are generally married men. They live with their families and dependants in little clusters of houses around a temple to Vishnu,[43] and in this way the adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. In Purí there is a temple specially dedicated to his name, and many little shrines are scattered over the country. But he is generally adored in connection with Vishnu; and of such joint temples there are at present 300 in the town of Purí, and 500 in the district. The worship of Chaitanya extends throughout all Orissa; and I have a long list of landed families who worship him with a daily ritual in household chapels dedicated to his name.

At this moment Chaitanya is the apostle of the common people in Orissa. The Bráhmans, unless they happen to enjoy grants of land in his name, ignore his work. In almost every Bráhman village the communal shrine is dedicated to Siva; but in the villages of the ordinary husbandmen it is Vishnu who is worshipped, and Chaitanya who is remembered as the great teacher of the popular faith.

The death of this reformer marks the beginning of the spiritual decline of Vishnu-worship. Chaitanya had scaled heights denied to ordinary men. The only point in which any real improvement has since taken place, is with regard to the position of women in the religious commonwealth. After the death of Chaitanya a sect arose among his followers, who asserted the spiritual in-

[42] The Gosáins.

[43] In his form of Krishna. I generally use the word Vishnu in its generic sense, as applied to all the incarnations of the god, to save the introduction of unfamiliar Indian names in the text.

dependence of women.[44] In their monastic enclosures male and female cenobites live in celibacy; the women shaving their heads, with the exception of a single slender lock.[45] The two sexes chant the praises of Vishnu and Chaitanya together, in hymn and solemn dance. But the really important doctrine of the sect is their recognition of the value of women as instructors of the outside female community. For long they were the only teachers admitted into the zanánás of good families in Bengal. Sixty years ago they had already effected a change for the better in the state of female education, and the value of such instruction was assigned as the cause of the sect having so rapidly spread in Calcutta. Since that time Vishnuvite female ascetics[46] of various sorts have entered the same field. In some instances the bad have crept in along with the good, and an effort recently made to utilize them as an engine of public instruction failed.

A few years ago a female normal school was founded, in the hopes of turning out a supply of highly trained teachers, who would gain admission into the zanánás. Female ascetics of the Vishnuvite orders were invited to enter the institution; but, after a patient trial, it was ascertained that their moral character had ceased to command the respect which it formerly received. At the end of 1868 ten remained in the school; but during the past year nine of them were removed, upon careful inquiry into their private life, and the tenth voluntarily withdrew herself.[47]

[44] The Spashtha Dáyakas.

[45] H. H. Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 170.

[46] Vairáginís.

[47] The official details with regard to this interesting and once promising institution at Dacca may be found in Appendix A of the General Report of the Director of Public Instruction, L. P., for 1863-4, pp. 83-90; 1864-5, pp. 155-158; 1865-6, p. 172; 1866-7, pp. 132-3; 1867-8, p. 101; and 1868-9;

The most deplorable corruption of Vishnu-worship at the present day, is that which has covered the temple walls with indecent sculptures, and filled their innermost sanctuaries with licentious rites. It is very difficult for a person not a Hindu to pronounce upon the real extent of this evil. None but a Hindu can enter any of the larger temples, and none but a Hindu priest really knows the truth about their inner mysteries. But between Vishnuvism and Love-worship there is but a step, and this step has been formally and publicly taken by a large sect of Vishnuvites.

As early as 1520 a teacher[48] arose in Northern India, preaching that the liberation of the soul depended not upon the mortification of the body, and that God was to be sought, not in nakedness and hunger and solitude, but amid the enjoyments of this life. The special object of his adoration was Vishnu in his pastoral incarnation, in which he took the form of the divine youth Krishna, and led a glorious Arcadian life in the forest. The legends surround him with all that makes existence beautiful. Shady bowers, lovely women, exquisite viands, and everything that appeals to the luscious sensuousness of a tropical race, are mingled in his worship. His daily ritual consists of eight services, in which his image is delicately bathed, anointed with essences, splendidly attired, and sumptuously fed. His great annual ceremony in Lower Bengal is the Car Festival of Jagannáth, hereafter to be described. It is a religion of luxury and systematic indulgence. The followers of the first Vishnuvite reformers dwelt together in secluded monasteries,

and especially in letter No. 2988, from Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, to Director of Public Instruction, dated 4th December 1869. P. I. R.

[48] Vallabha-Swámí.

or went about scantily clothed, living upon alms. But this sect performs its devotions arrayed in costly apparel, anointed with oil, and perfumed with camphor or sandal. It seeks its converts, not among weavers, or leather-dressers, or barbers, but among wealthy bankers and merchants, who look upon life as a thing to be enjoyed, and upon pilgrimage as a means of extending their trading enterprises.

In a religion of this sort great abuses are inevitable. It was a revolt against a system which taught that the soul could approach its Maker only by the mortification of the body. It declared that God was present in the cities and marts of men, not less than in the cave of the ascetic. Faith and love were its instruments of salvation, and voluptuous contemplation its approved spiritual state. It delighted to clothe the Deity in a beautiful human form, and mystical amorous poems make a large part of its canonical literature. One of its most valued theological treatises is entitled the Ocean of Love; and although its nobler professors have always recognised its spiritual character, to the common order of minds it has become simply a religion of pleasure. The loves of Rádhá and Krishna, that exquisite woodland pastoral, redolent of as ethereal a beauty as the wild-flower aroma which breathes in the legend of Psyche and Cupid, has been materialized into a sanction for licentious rites.

Siva-worship, on the contrary, is a religion of stern realities. Whatever it does, it does with a rigid seriousness that is altogether a stranger to the luxurious sensuousness of the worship of Krishna. Its shrines are seldom disgraced by the obscenities which stand out in imperishable stone from the walls of Vishnu temples. Indeed, throughout Orissa I have found the absence or

presence of prurient sculptures almost as good a criterion of the sect to which a temple belongs, as the mystic wheel of Vishnu, or the trident of Siva which surmounts its tower. It is only fair, however, to state that both the educated Bráhmans and the uneducated masses deplore these indecencies, or spiritualize them into solemn mysteries. So far as I can learn, they little affect the minds of the worshippers. In a great crowd, such as constantly streams in and out of Jagannáth, thieves and pickpockets naturally ply their trade. But whatever may be the private character of the priests, the only case of a great impropriety absolutely known to have taken place within the walls, was immediately visited by the ecclesiastical exclusion of the parties for the rest of their lives. I have watched the pilgrims in the city, and in a hundred villages along the great high road that leads to it. I have never seen better behaved assemblages of men and women; and the civil surgeon of Purí, whose duties bring him into constant intercourse with the pilgrims, reports to me that there are certainly not more improprieties among them than there would be in European gatherings on an equally large scale.

It is this composite worship of deep spirituality and sanctioned self-indulgence which for six centuries has been gathering round the present temple of Jagannáth. In the story of most of the leading Vishnuvite saints, Jagannáth plays some part. The greatest of all of them devoted his life to the spread of his worship; and an Orissa tradition still relates how in 1503, the king,[49] after a public disputation, acknowledged himself subdued by Chaitanya, and became his humble disciple. Even in

[49] Pratáb Rudra Deo.

the lives of northern saints, Jagannáth from time to time appears upon the scene. The Beerbhoom poet Jayadeva, whose Herdsman's Song is now the devotional work of a great sect of his countrymen, abandoned his ascetic life on account of a Bráhman girl who had been dedicated to Jagannáth. The god himself assisted the poet in his writings; and when the sacred volume was finished, he publicly claimed it as the work of his favoured servant. For the king of Orissa, having heard of the fame of the poem, composed another and called it by the same name. The obsequious priests received it with rapturous adulation, and placed it in the temple along with the original work. But the lord Jagannáth stepped down from his throne, and taking up both poems, hurled the Rájá's out of the temple, and tenderly placed Jayadeva's in his bosom.

It was not only of poets and Bráhmans, however, that Jagannáth was now the patron. Vishnuvism had become the faith of from one-fifth to one-third of the whole people of Bengal. Of one of the saints, a poor butcher by caste, it is recorded that while on pilgrimage, being tempted to adultery by a Bráhman's wife, and accused by her when he would not comply, his hands were cut off. But the lord Jagannáth judged between the innocent and the guilty, and restored the mutilated limbs to his servant. At this moment the Vishnuvite sects love to claim Purí, on however slender grounds, as the birthplace of their founders, or to introduce it as the scene of their labours on earth. I have already mentioned the monastery of Kabír, and hard by his establishment is a religious house of another northern sect, to which all devout pilgrims from Upper India repair. At the one they beg a piece of bread, and at the other a

spoonful of rice-water, in remembrance of their respective founders.[50]

In Orissa, among the common people, Jagannáth reigns supreme. Different fiscal divisions claim, as a precious hereditary right, the privilege of rendering service to the god. The jungly highlands on the west of the Chilká supply the timber for the Car Festival. The lowlands on the north of the lake annually send thousands of peasants to drag the sacred vehicle. The inhabitants delight to explain the etymology of their towns and villages, by referring their names to some incident in the history of the image.[51] The royal line has for centuries performed menial offices before the image; and as the sweeper caste is the lowest in the Hindu commonwealth, so the kings of Orissa have reached the climax of religious humility, in their most cherished title of Hereditary Sweeper to Jagannáth.

The devotion of centuries has long ago made Jagannáth a very wealthy god. The Muhammadans spared so opulent a deity for the revenue that he could be made to yield. All other idols in Orissa they smashed in pieces; and the common saying at this day is, that the noses and ears of the Hindu gods dropped off at the sound of the Musalmán kettle-drum. But Jagannáth was too lucrative a property to be roughly handled, and a native historian informs us that they raised the enormous sum of £100,000[52] per annum by licensing his worship. If this statement be correct, the Musalmáns must have taxed the priests as well as the pilgrims, as I find that the net sum realized by the British Government, on its

[50] The *Malúk Dás ká tukrá* and *Kabír ká toráni.*
[51] *e.g.* Mánikpatna, the ruby of Jagannáth.
[52] Nine lacs of Sicca rupees.

taking charge of the country, averaged only £6619 a year.[53] The Marhattás succeeded the Musalmáns, and, being Hindus, encouraged the worship, and richly endowed the god. In 1755 they sanctioned a regular payment for the support of the temple, estimated, when we took possession of the country, as equal to a landed estate with a rent-roll of £1700 per annum.[54] During the last twenty-four months of their rule, their total money contributions amounted to £5000.[55] As we shall afterwards see, the pilgrims were made to pay dearly for the State liberality to their god.

This, however, represents but a small portion of the wealth of Jagannáth. The monasteries connected with the temple enjoy a revenue estimated by a Hindu in 1848 at £20,000 per annum. We have a list of the twenty-nine largest grants, which alone yielded £14,540 a year. The present rental of the monasteries connected with Jagannáth amounts, so far as I have been able to ascertain, to £27,000 per annum; and at the moderate computation of fifteen years' purchase, represents landed property to nearly half a million sterling.

But, as I have already stated, every family of any importance in Orissa has dedicated a large part of its estates to the gods. It is not Jagannáth alone who has profited. The most moderate calculation that I have seen values the abbey lands of Orissa at £50,000 a year.

[53] This represents the net receipts after all deductions for charges, carefully made up from the manuscript accounts for a period of twenty-one years, ending in 1831. The average gross collections were £12,574.—O. R.

[54] The Sátáis Hazárí Mahal, literally the Twenty-seven thousand Rupees, but returned as yielding only Rs. 17,420 in the Government papers. Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 9, 20, etc.

[55] Letter No. 1943, from Commissioner to Board of Revenue, 26th Aug. 1843.

This is the official return by a committee consisting entirely of native gentlemen appointed to report on the religious endowments of that province.

In every country, monastic licentiousness has followed hard upon monastic wealth. Orissa has been no exception to the rule; and since the day we took charge of the country, a cry has gone up against priestly luxury and vice. The enlightened part of the community has now arrayed itself against the systematic abuse of religious endowments exhibited in almost every monastery. It is not the poor or the discontented who are loudest in their complaints, but men of education, position, and of a sufficient degree of orthodoxy to represent public opinion among the respectable Hindus. The native governments of Orissa had more than once to interfere, and to resume endowments which were so grossly abused. In 1810, six years after our accession, misappropriation had reached such a height as to require a legislative remedy.[66] Endowments for pious uses were placed under the supervision of the Board of Revenue, which was made responsible for seeing that the funds were applied to their proper purposes. This supervision by a distant body in Calcutta, consisting of Christians and foreigners, was necessarily of an unsatisfactory nature; and in 1863 the old regulation was repealed. The new law provided that religious endowments should be administered either by local committees of management or by trustees, and endeavoured to guard against misappropriation by directing that any person interested might sue the committee or trustees who abused their position. But no 'person interested' has ever come forward thus to protect the patrimony of the poor. Not a single suit has been filed,

[66] Regulation xix. of 1810. Repealed by Act xx. of 1863.

and practically the committees and trustees have done just as they pleased.

Meanwhile the public indignation has grown louder every year. In 1860 a pamphlet was put forth by a native gentleman who had visited all the larger monasteries of Orissa, and who was himself a landholder in that province. He says: 'Licentiousness, inhospitality, and petty robbery are the daily vices that have crept into them. When the abbots go out of their monasteries, they pass with a retinue composed of elephants, horses, and sometimes camels. Tom-tom players and performers on the horn go actively along with them. They never think of doing their duty. The monasteries hold half the lands occupied by the landholders, but they are of very little use to the public.' 'They have given up their ancient hospitality. Pilgrims and sick men never approach them, for fear of being rudely expelled from their portals. The abbots have yielded to degrading carnal pleasures, and their disciples emulate their vices.'[57]

The reforming party among the Hindus would give but a short shrift to such abuses. The pamphlet above quoted recommends that the religious endowments of Orissa should be classified according to the purposes for which they were intended, and that these purposes should be enforced by a domiciliary supervision of the police. With regard to a little monastery on his own estate, the author adopted an even more vigorous procedure. 'I have a small village,' he says, 'in the country of Cattack, of which I am the proprietor. In that village is a religious house, to which was granted, by my pre-

[57] Discourse on the Maths of Orissa, by Kedár-Náth Datt, *abridged*, pp. 1, 5, 6. Calcutta, 1860.

decessors, a holding of rent-free land. The head of the institution gave up entirely entertaining such men as chanced to seek shelter on a rainy night. This came to my notice; and I administered a severe threat to the head of the house, warning him that his lands would be cruelly resumed if in future complaints of inhospitality were brought to my knowledge.'

In 1868 a committee was officially appointed to report upon the religious endowments of Orissa. It consisted entirely of natives of the province, eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of the facts they had to collect; and who, by a residence in Purí itself, had studied the working of the system at its centre, before starting out to investigate its intricate ramifications. They found that the endowments consisted of three classes. In the first class, the deeds granted the lands solely for charitable purposes. In the second, the charters devote certain lands to provide food for the local idol. The third class of endowments is for both purposes, and directs the income to be distributed partly in charity, and partly to be spent in the purchase of the god's food. Practically, however, all monasteries in Orissa of the first class have also grants of the second sort; that is to say, foundations for charitable uses have invariably acquired lands for the worship of the gods as well. 'There is little room to doubt,' say the committee, 'that the endowments in general were made for the benefit of the poor and the helpless.' For the most part, they lie along the great road to Jagannáth, or in the town of Purí, and seem to have been specially intended for the poorer pilgrims who visit the shrine.

'The religious houses, as originally established,' continue these native gentlemen, 'might be compared

with Christian monasteries, as far as the characters of the managers and the associates, and, in fact, of all the inmates, went. The abbot led a life of celibacy, bore the highest character for piety, and was wholly devoted to the service of God and man. He lived in the simplest style, denying himself even the common comforts of life. This is not the picture of an imaginary abbot. There exist, even in this day, instances of such management, though from their rarity they can only be taken as exceptions.

'Very different is the state of things at present. The high style in which they live, their expensive equipages, and large and costly retinue, not to say anything of the pleasures and luxuries in which they indulge, to the neglect of their proper duties, tend, as we think, to show that they are not as they ought to be. Besides these, there are the facts of direct and indirect alienations of trust property, and the large expenses of unnecessary lawsuits. We believe that there is enough in what we have shown, to produce moral conviction as to the existence of abuses too great in extent, and too flagrant in character, to be suffered any longer to remain unremedied. Such is our conviction; and we need hardly state, after the representations already laid before Government, what the public feeling on the subject is,—a feeling which is one of honest indignation at what is considered a gross abuse of trust and a public wrong.'[58]

The truth is, that the monastic institutions of Orissa answer the objects for which they were founded no

[58] Report of Committee, dated 25th March 1869, paras. 21 and 22, *abridged*. That the monasteries of India were once very different from what they are now, is clear from H. H. Wilson's testimony. He describes the abbots in 1828 as 'men of talents and respectability.' Works, i. 53, ed. 1862.

better in the nineteenth century, than the monastic institutions of England answered their purposes in the sixteenth. But whatever may be done in Orissa, there will be no spoliation of religious endowments. The English Government of India has ever disdained to enrich itself by the confiscation of charitable lands. The proposals for their reform have come entirely from the natives themselves. Of such proposals, some tend to a general revision of the grants, and their appropriation to really charitable uses, such as medical dispensaries, hospitals, and schools for the poor. The more moderate party confines its suggestions to the establishment of a central committee of management in Orissa, with powers of visitation and control over the local boards.[59] They desire that this committee should represent the enlightened and public-spirited part of the community. They expressly declare against the members being paid, 'being persuaded that none worth having on such committees would think of accepting any remuneration for trouble taken in the cause of religion.'[60]

The amount at stake is large enough to make a Government and a people ponder well before they commit themselves. Fifty thousand pounds, the annual rental of the religious lands in Orissa, represent at least an income of a quarter of a million a year in England. Estimating the value of the land at fifteen years' purchase, a great property worth three-quarters of a million sterling is at stake. Allowing for the different purchasing power of money in Europe and in the rural parts of India, this sum may be set down as of equal magnitude in Orissa to £4,000,000 sterling at home.

[59] Report of Committee, dated 25th March 1869, para. 30. B. S.
[60] *Idem*, para. 32.

The English Government has respected the patrimony of Jagannáth not less scrupulously than it has conserved the general religious endowments of Orissa. We simply took over charge of the country from the Marhattá intruders, and the Company bound itself to uphold all rights and privileges as it found them. Jagannáth soon made his claims heard. Not satisfied with being maintained in all their grants, the priests pestered the British officers with demands for special allowances. A few months after our accession, while the whole landholders of Orissa were in a tremor as to how the new Government would deal with their rights, the Bráhmans calmly insisted upon 'a variety of articles as presents, in order to avert the famine and mortality which are dreaded from an adjutant bird having alighted upon the spire of the goddess Bimalá, and of her shawl having been wet by her perspiration.'[61]

Practically, the British decided that all disbursements hitherto made for charitable uses should be continued on the scale which the orthodox Marhattá Government had established.[62] Among these costly bequests, the superintendence of the temple of Jagannáth was the chief. During the years that preceded their expulsion, they had paid from £3000 to £5000 from their treasury, to make good the deficit between the receipts and the charges of the establishment. Lord Wellesley expressly enjoined our troops, when they started to occupy the province in 1803, to respect the temple and the religious prejudices of the Bráhmans and pilgrims. At the same time, our officers were to make no arrange-

[61] Letter to J. Hunter, Esq., Collector of Jagannáth, from the Commissioners, dated 19th September 1804. P. R.

[62] Letter from Commissioners to Collector, dated 23d March 1805. O. R.

ments that would hamper Government in any subsequent reform of temple abuses.[63] Our General communicated these orders to the priests of Jagannáth when he entered the province; and a deputation of Bráhmans accordingly came into the camp, and placed the temple under our protection, without a blow being struck.[64]

The first effect of our occupation was temporarily to suspend the tax on pilgrims, as we found the system under which the Marhattás had levied it to be grossly oppressive. At all fords and passes the unhappy pilgrims had to pay toll. Every governor along the road levied as much as he could extort; and one chief fixed the impost in his district at the enormous rate of £1, 9s. for each foot-passenger.[65] With regard to the temple, we simply engaged to take the place of the late Government.[66] The Marhattás, however, had granted no fixed sum, but had annually made up the difference between the receipts and the expenditure of the temple. For the first four years we followed the same plan, and struggled to thread our way through the endless maze of chicanery in which the temple accounts were involved. Practically, there was a deficit of £3000 a year, which the ruling power had to make good.[67] In 1807 the Government endeavoured to get rid of the minute supervision of idolatrous rites which this system involved.[68] A year later it formally vested the temple superintendence in the representative of the ancient royal line of Orissa,

[63] Letter No. 1943, from Commissioner to Board of Revenue, dated 26th August 1843.

[64] *Idem.*

[65] Calcutta Review, vol. x. p. 218.

[66] Letter No. 1943, above cited.

[67] Total expenditure, Sa. Rs. 65,999; temple receipts, Sa. Rs. 30,884; Government grant, Sa. Rs. 29,355, the balance being disallowed.

[68] Upon Mr. Webb's Report, dated 19th November 1807.

whom the Marhattás had so grievously oppressed.[69] The total allowance was fixed at £6000.[70] This sum was granted, however, only on the understanding that it would be absolutely spent in the maintenance of the temple.

Meanwhile Government reimbursed itself by a pilgrim-tax, similar to that which had been always levied by the native governments, but of a much lighter character. It stationed guards at the two entrances to the town, who classified the pilgrims and levied the rates. The richest sort, known as the Red Pilgrims, paid from 12s. to £1 sterling a head.[71] The commonalty paid 4s.; but all religious devotees, carriers of holy water, and *bona fide* inhabitants of Orissa,[72] went free. By exempting merchants and hucksters of every sort, it took care not to let the tax interfere with trade. All poor pilgrims who should declare their inability to pay the tax in the prescribed form were also exempted;[73] and practically, only two-thirds of the registered number paid. The registered number itself seldom represented one-half the actual total that crept into the city unperceived.

If the Musalmán historians are accurate in their returns, the tax thus levied by the Company was barely one-fifteenth of what the people had formerly paid. Nevertheless it formed an important item in our revenue from Orissa. During the twenty-one years ending 1831 it yielded a balance of £139,000, or £6619 per annum,

[69] Sanad to Rájá of Khurdhá, dated 1808.

[70] Sa. Rs. 56,342. 9. 8, 'exclusive of broadcloth for decorating the cars.' Letter No. 1943, above cited.

[71] Regulation iv. of 1806, secs. 3 to 6.

[72] *I.e.* residents between the Baitaraní and the Ganjám Rivers.

[73] Regulation iv. of 1806, sec. 9.

after deducting £5955 a year from the gross returns for the temple expenses and charges.[74] It was felt, however, that the money thus made was to a certain extent the price of a State sanction to idolatry. Christian missionaries ceased not to protest against the impiety of keeping open, as it were, a great emporium of pagan rites, and making a profit from the customers. In 1840 the Company removed this stain from its administration. It abolished the pilgrim-tax, and made over the entire management of the temple to the Rájás of Khurdhá, the representatives of the ancient royal line. At the same time, it maintained the pledges that the Marquis of Wellesley had solemnly given. The priests had placed their temple under our protection on the strength of those pledges. In 1840, therefore, the Government, while utterly withdrawing itself from the management, and refusing thenceforward in any way to recognise the shrine, or to levy a tax from its devotees, declined to interfere with the ancient grants. The money allowance had been from time to time reduced, as several functions of the administration—the police, for example, which had formerly been defrayed by the temple—passed under the regular authorities. But the good faith of the English Government was scrupulously maintained; indeed, so scrupulously as to give offence to many Christian men both in India and at home. The annual allowance was afterwards converted into a grant of land, worth about £4000 a year. All money payments from the treasury, and all State interference, of whatever sort, have ceased.

It is difficult to form anything like an accurate esti-

[74] The total yield was at the rate of £12,574; the annual charges, £5955. Abolished by Act x. of 1840.

mate of the present income of Jagannáth. Accepting the computation of the rent-roll of the monasteries connected with the temple at £27,000, and adding £4000 as the present value of the lands granted by the State, we have a total of £31,000. This sum, however, represents but a fraction of his actual income. The whole length and breadth of India is the patrimony of the priests. The different provinces are allotted to different heads of houses, who claim the right of acting as spiritual guides to the pilgrims from their respective regions. These high ecclesiastics cover the country with their emissaries, who preach the sanctity of pilgrimage, and not a day passes without long trains of footsore travellers arriving at the shrine. At the Car Festival, food is cooked in the temple kitchen for 90,000 devotees; at another festival for 70,000; and on the morning of one of their solemn full moons, 40,000 pilgrims wash away their sins in the surf.[75] The number that daily flocks in and out of the holy city never falls short of 50,000 a year, and sometimes amounts to 300,000. This is the published computation of a native gentleman who had spent his life on the spot.

No one comes empty-handed. The richer pilgrims heap gold and silver and jewels at the feet of the god, or spread before him charters and title-deeds, conveying rich lands in distant provinces. Every one, from the richest to the poorest, gives beyond his ability, and many cripple their fortunes for the rest of their lives in a frenzy of liberality. Thousands die on the way back, from not having kept enough to support them on the journey. But even when the unhappy pilgrim has given his last rupee, the priests do not suffer him to depart: some

[75] Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 46, 51.

shrine still remains to be visited, some ceremony to be witnessed, or some blessing to be obtained. The devotee, in a fever of apprehension lest any of the objects of his pilgrimage should remain unaccomplished, gives a bond to be paid on his return home. An engagement of this sort is so inviolable, that the priests do not even think it needful to take it upon stamped paper. The poor shorn pilgrim probably never reaches his native country. But the next time a pilgrim-hunter visits the dead man's village, he produces the bond, and it is paid without cavil.

The value of these offerings can never be known. Some have stated it to me as high as £70,000. But I think this is excessive, although it should be remembered that, according to native historians, the Muhammadans managed to extract £100,000 from the pilgrims before they entered the city at all. A moderate computation estimated the offerings to the priests at twice the gross sum which the British officers realized as pilgrim-tax; and now that the tax is withdrawn, and the pilgrims enter the city so much the richer, the oblations cannot fall much short of three times the amount. This would yield a yearly sum of £37,000, which, added to the £4000 derived from the temple lands, and to the revenues of the religious houses, valued at £27,000, make the total income of Jagannáth not less than £68,000 per annum.

A religious society, so ancient and so wealthy, naturally gathers around it a vast body of retainers. A quarter of a century ago there were as many as 6000 male adults, priests, warders of the temple, and pilgrim guides. The number has probably increased since then; and including the monastic establishments, their servants and hired labourers, along with the vast body of pilgrim-hunters

who roam through every province of India, it is probable that not less than 20,000 men, women, and children live, directly or indirectly, by the service of lord Jagannáth.

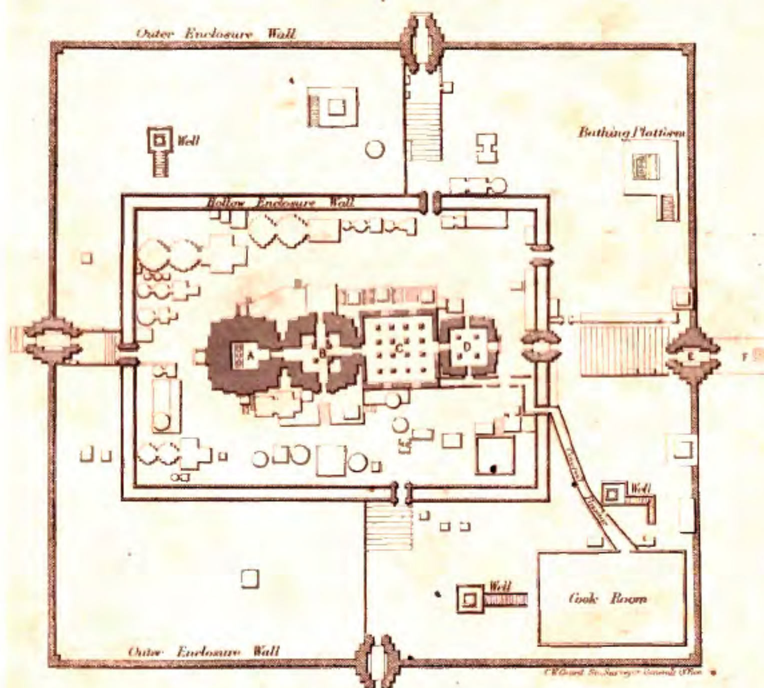
The immediate attendants on the god are divided into thirty-six orders and ninety-seven classes. At the head is the Rájá of Khurdhá, the representative of the ancient royal house of Orissa, who takes upon himself the lowly office of sweeper to Jagannáth. Decorators of the idols, strewers of flowers, priests of the wardrobe, bakers, cooks, guards, musicians, dancing-girls, torch-bearers, grooms, elephant-keepers, and artisans of every sort, follow. There are distinct sets of servants to put the god to bed, to dress him, and to bathe him. A special department keeps up the temple records, and affords a calm literary asylum to a few learned men. The baser features of a worship which brings God down to men, and aims at a sensuous realization of the Eternal, by endowing Him with human passions and a human form, appear in a band of prostitutes who sing before the image.

The sacred enclosure is nearly in the form of a square, protected from profane eyes by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, by 652 feet long and 630 broad. Within it rise about 120 temples, dedicated to the various forms in which the Hindu mind has imagined its god. In the list I count no fewer than thirteen temples to Siva, besides several to his queen, the great rivals of Vishnu. The nature-worship of primitive times is represented, even in this most complex development of modern superstition, by a temple to the sun. But the great pagoda is the one dedicated to Jagannáth. Its conical tower rises like an elaborately carved sugar-loaf, 192 feet high, black with time, and surmounted by the mystic wheel

PLAN OF TEMPLE OF JAGANNÁTH
AT PURI

Presented to the Author by Babu Rádhiká Prasád Mukarji Ass^t. Eng^r. D.P.W.

(Ground Plan.)



Scale 200 f^t. to the Inch

A TOWERED SANCTUARY CONTAINING IDOLS
B HALL OF AUDIENCE FOR PILGRIMS
C PILLARED HALL FOR DANCING GIRLS
D HALL OF OFFERINGS
E LION GATE
F SUN PILLAR

and flag of Vishnu. Outside the principal entrance, or Lion Gate, in the square where the pilgrims chiefly throng, is an exquisite monolithic pillar which stood for centuries before the Temple of the Sun, twenty miles up the coast.

The temple of Jagannáth consists, like all the larger shrines in Orissa, of four chambers opening one into the other. The first is the Hall of Offerings, where the bulkier oblations are made, only a small quantity of choice food being admitted into the inner shrine. The second is the Pillared Hall, for the musicians and dancing-girls. The third is the Hall of Audience, in which the pilgrims assemble to gaze upon the god. The fourth is the Sanctuary itself, surmounted by the lofty conical tower.[76] There sits Jagannáth, with his brother Balabhadra and his sister Subhadrá, in jewelled state. The images are rude logs, coarsely fashioned into the form of the human bust from the waist up. On certain festivals the priests fasten golden hands to the short stumps which project from the shoulders of Jagannáth. The want of arms has been already accounted for in the legend of Básu the fowler, but the priests give a more spiritual explanation. The Lord of the World, they say, needs neither hands nor feet to work his purposes among men.

The service of the temple consists partly in a daily round of oblations, and partly in sumptuous ceremonials at stated periods throughout the year. The offerings are simple enough : fruits and flowers, and the various articles of food in use among a primitive people. Rice, pulse, clarified butter, milk, salt, vegetables, ginger,

[76] These halls, beginning as above with the outermost, are called respectively, (1) Bhog Mandir, (2) Nát Mandir, (3) Jagamohan, (4) Bara Deul, the holy cell itself. For the dimensions on page 128 I am indebted to Bábu Rájendra Lála Mitra. Those given by Stirling and by Brij Kishore Ghose are slightly inaccurate.

and cocoa-nuts, are offered to the images and eaten by the priests. A list of the items, made up by a Hindu gentleman, gives their aggregate cost at £4, 8s. 4d. a day, and the table of the idols is entered in the temple accounts at £1572 a year.[77]

Four times every day the priests clear the sanctuary, and close the tower gates while the god is at his meals. At the door stand Vishnuvite ascetics, waving large fans and singing his praises. In the Pillared Hall a choir of dancing-girls enliven the idols' repast by their airy gyrations, while a few favoured servants attend him in his inner shrine.

The offerings are bloodless. No animal yields up his life in the service of Jagannáth. The spilling of blood pollutes the whole edifice, and a set of servants are maintained to hurry away the sacrificial food that has thus been contaminated. Yet so deeply rooted is the principle of compromise in this great national temple, that the sacred enclosure also contains a shrine to Bimalá, the 'stainless' queen of the All-Destroyer, who is every year adored with midnight rites and bloody sacrifices.

Twenty-four high festivals enliven the religious year. They consist chiefly of the Vishnuvite celebrations, but freely admit the ceremonials of the rival sects. A vein of the old aboriginal rites runs through them all. At the Red Powder Festival, a picturesque boat procession of the gods about Easter on the sacred lake, devotees to the number of 40,000 indulge in *bháng* and other intoxicating drugs to a degree that shocks the pilgrims of purer Aryan descent from Upper India.[78] Vishnu and Siva

[77] Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 26 and 28.

[78] The Chandan Játrá lasts three weeks in the month of Baisákh, and reaches its climax on the twentieth day. The local details of these cere-

enjoy equal honours in the ceremony. The wild age is yearly commemorated in the abduction[79] of the fair nymph by the enamoured god, a primitive form of marriage *per raptionem*, acknowledged by ancient Hindu law. The Aryan advance through India is celebrated on Ráma's birthday, on which the god appears in the dress and arms of the Sanskrit hero who marched to the southern jungles of the peninsula, and slew the cannibal king of Ceylon. At the Bathing Festival,[80] when the images are brought down in great pomp to one of the artificial lakes, a proboscis is fastened to their noses so as to give them the look of the elephant god of the aboriginal tribes, Ganesa. The supremacy of Vishnu is declared, however, in the festival of the slaughter of the deadly Cobra-da-Capello,[81] the familiar of Siva and his queen. The indecent rites that have crept into Vishnuvism, and which, according to the spirit of the worshipper, are either high religious mysteries or simple obscenities, are represented by the Birth Festival,[82] in which a priest takes the part of the father, and a dancing-girl that of the mother, of Jagannáth, and the ceremony of his nativity is performed to the life.

But the Car Festival is the great event of the year. It takes place, according as the Hindu months fall, in June or July, and probably owes its origin to a period long anterior to the temple itself. We have seen how Vishnuvism at Purí is but the successor of the older Buddhistic creed. The Chinese traveller Fa Hian gives

monials I take chiefly from Brij Kishore Ghose, whose long residence in Purí best entitles him to speak.

79 Rukminí-haran-ekádasí.

80 Snán Játrá.

81 Kálí-damana.

82 Janam.

a curious account of the yearly procession of the Sacred Tooth from its regular chapel to a shrine some way off, and of its return after a stay there. This was in the fifth century A.D.; but the account applies so exactly to the Car Festival at the present day, that one of the most accurate of Indian observers pronounces the latter to be 'merely a copy.'[83] Certain it is, that in its greatest ceremonials, as in its leading doctrines, the worship of Jagannáth bears the impress of the ancient Buddhistic faith.

For weeks before the Car Festival, pilgrims come trooping into Purí by thousands every day. The whole district is in a ferment. By the time the great car has risen to the orthodox height of forty-five feet,[84] the temple cooks make their calculations for feeding 90,000 mouths. The vast edifice is supported on sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and is thirty-five feet square. The brother and sister of Jagannáth have separate cars a few feet smaller. When the sacred images are at length brought forth and placed upon their chariots, thousands fall on their knees and bow their foreheads in the dust. The vast multitude shouts with one throat, and, surging backward and forward, drags the wheeled edifices down the broad street towards the country-house of lord Jagannáth. Music strikes up before and behind, drums beat, cymbals clash, the priests harangue from the cars, or

[83] History of Architecture, ii. 590, by James Fergusson, F.R.S., to whose industry and genius we owe the best account alike of the temples and of the rivers of Bengal. Mr. Fergusson does not seem to have quite understood the interior plan of the larger Orissa temples, but no European is permitted to enter them, and I owe it to Bábu Rájendra Lála Mitra that I have been able to explain their four chambers. From the publication of Bábu Rájendra Lála Mitra's work on Orissa, an accurate knowledge of that style of Hindu architecture will date.

[84] Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 39.

shout a sort of fescinine medley enlivened with broad allusions and coarse gestures, which are received with roars of laughter by the crowd. And so the dense mass struggles forward by convulsive jerks, tugging and sweating, shouting and jumping, singing and praying, and swearing. The distance from the temple to the country-house is less than a mile; but the wheels sink deep into the sand, and the journey takes several days. After hours of severe toil and wild excitement in the July tropical sun, a reaction necessarily follows. The zeal of the pilgrims flags before the garden-house is reached; and the cars, deserted by the devotees, are dragged along by the professional pullers with deep-drawn grunts and groans. These men, 4200 in number, are peasants from the neighbouring fiscal divisions, who generally manage to live at free quarters in Purí during the festival.

Once arrived at the country-house, the enthusiasm subsides. The pilgrims drop exhausted upon the burning sand of the sacred street, or block up the lanes with their prostrate bodies. When they have slept off their excitement, they rise refreshed and ready for another of the strong religious stimulants of the season. Lord Jagannáth is left to get back to his temple as best he can; and in the quaint words of a writer half a century ago, but for the professional car-pullers, the god 'would infallibly stick' at his country-house.

In a closely-packed eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women, many of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost under the blazing tropical sun, deaths must occasionally occur. There have doubtless been instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. But such

instances have always been rare, and are now unknown. At one time several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. The few suicides that did occur were for the most part cases of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain.[85] The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Indeed, nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu-worship than self-immolation. Accidental death within the temple renders the whole place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god. According to Chaitanya, the apostle of Jagannáth, the destruction of the least of God's creatures was a sin against the Creator. Self-immolation he would have regarded with horror. The copious religious literature of his sect frequently describes the Car Festival, but makes no mention of self-sacrifice, nor does it contain any passage that could be twisted into a sanction for it.[86] Abul Fazl, the keen Musalmán observer, is equally silent, although from the context it is almost certain that, had he heard of the practice, he would have mentioned it.

So far from encouraging self-immolation, the gentle doctrines of Jagannáth tended to check the once universal custom of widow-burning. Even before the Government put a stop to it, our officials observed its comparative infrequency at Purí. It is expressly discountenanced in the writings of the Vishnuvite reformers, and is stigmatized by a celebrated disciple as 'the fruitless union of beauty with a corpse.'

[85] Stirling, As. Res. xv. 324. Calcutta Review, x. 235. Report of Statistical Commissioner to the Government of Bengal, 1868, part ii. p. 8. Purí Police Reports. Lieutenant Laurie's Orissa, 1850.

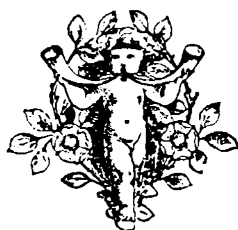
[86] H. H. Wilson's Works, i. 155, footnote.

It would be well for Jagannáth if these old calumnies were the only charges which his priests had to answer. Lascivious sculptures disfigure his walls, indecent ceremonies disgrace his ritual, and dancing-girls with rolling eyes put the modest female worshippers to the blush. The priests give a spiritual significance to these most questionable features of modern Vishnuvism, and a devout Hindu no doubt looks on them with different eyes from ours. To the pure, all things are pure. But these are not the sole corruptions of the faith. The temple of Jagannáth, that *colluvio religionum* in which every creed obtained an asylum, and in which every class and sect can find its god, now closes its gates against the low-caste population. I have tried in vain to trace the history of this gross violation of the spirit of the reformed Vishnuvite faith. Even at the present moment no hard and fast line exists between the admitted and the excluded castes. I have taken down lists of the latter from several natives of Purí, but each list materially differs from all the others; and I am told that the priests are much less strict to mark the disqualification of caste in pilgrims from a distance than among the non-paying local populace. Speaking generally, only those castes are shut out who retain the flesh-eating and animal-life-destroying propensities and professions of the aboriginal tribes.

A man must be a very pronounced Non-Aryan to be excluded. Certain of the low castes, such as the washermen and potters, may enter half-way, and, standing humbly in the court outside the great temple, catch a glimpse of the jewelled god within. But unquestionable Non-Aryans, like the neighbouring hill-tribes or forest races, and the landless servile castes of the lowlands,

cannot go in at all. The same ban extends to those engaged in occupations either offensive in themselves, or repugnant to Aryan ideas of purity: thus, wine-sellers, sweepers, skinners, corpse-bearers, hunters, fishers, and bird-killers. Básu the fowler would now be driven from the doors of the temple dedicated to his god. Criminals who have been in jail, and women of bad character, except the privileged temple girls, are also excluded: with this difference, however, that a criminal may expiate the defilement of imprisonment by penance and costly purifications; but a woman once fallen can never more pass the temple gates.[87]

[87] I have made up the following list of excluded castes, partly from the statements of the Bráhmans, and partly from those of the low castes themselves:—1. Christians; 2. Muhammadans; 3. Hill or forest races; 4. Báuris; 5. Savars; 6. Páns; 7. Háris (except to clean away filth); 8. Chámárs; 9. Doms and Chandáls; 10. Chiriá-Márs (bird-killers); 11. Sials (wine-sellers); 12. Gokhás (fishermen); 13. Siulas (fishermen); 14. Tiyars (fishermen); 15. Nuliás (Telinga boatmen); 16. Pátrás (low-caste cloth-makers); 17. Kandrás (village watchmen); 18. Common prostitutes; 19. Persons who have been in jail, but with right of expiation; 20. Washermen; 21. Potters; but these last two may enter the outer court.





CHAPTER IV.

THE PILGRIMS OF JAGANNATH.

THE name of Jagannáth still draws the faithful from a hundred provinces of India to the Purí sands. This yearning after holy places seems, indeed, to form part of the universal religion of mankind. To gaze upon the scenes amid which the Deity has dwelt, to bathe in the rivers that once laved his mystical incarnate frame, to halt at noonday under hoary trees beneath which the divine presence has reposed, to pray upon the mountain hallowed by his lonely communings, and to behold in the everlasting rock the footprints of the god, are longings which have, at one period or another, filled the imagination, and stirred the innermost heart of all noble races. From that ancient night on which the ladder was let down from heaven, and the angels ascended and descended before the sleeper on the pillow of stones at Bethel, till the time when the true cross began to give off its inexhaustible splinters to the Christian world, and thence down to the present hour, a strip of sand and rock has been regarded with passionate tenderness by the august dynasty of religions to which our own belongs. In the wildest period of mediæval history, savage nations forgot their feuds, and rushed hand in hand to the rescue of those distant shrines. In their defence, army after army reddened the Syrian sands

with their blood. Even in this unemotional age, a ceaseless stream of pilgrims from Asia, from Europe, from America, from the infidel parts of the Turk, and from the torrid mountains of Abyssinia, still pours into the *Terra Sancta* at the great festival of the Christian year. Its most solemn shrine is parcelled out in jealously guarded inches to the long separated sections of the primitive church. The coldest of the Teutonic creeds cannot contemplate those scenes untouched, while the Southern forms of Christianity abandon themselves to paroxysms of emotion.

This longing after shrines forms a very important feature in the national character of the Hindus. Day and night throughout every month of the year, troops of devotees arrive at Purí, and for 300 miles along the great Orissa road every village has its pilgrim encampment. The parties consist of from 20 to 300 persons. At the time of the great festivals these bands follow so close as to touch each other; and a continuous train of pilgrims, many miles long, may often be seen on the Purí high-road. They march in orderly procession, each party under its spiritual leader. At least five-sixths, and often nine-tenths of them, are females. Now a straggling band of slender, diminutive women, clothed in white muslin, and limping sadly along, announces a pilgrim company from Lower Bengal; then a joyous retinue with flowing garments of bright red or blue, trudging stoutly forward, their noses pierced with elaborate rings, their faces freely tatooed, and their hands encumbered with bundles of very dirty cloth, proclaims the stalwart female peasantry of Northern Hindustán. Ninety-five out of a hundred are on foot. Mixed with the throng are devotees of various sorts, some covered with ashes, some

almost naked, some with matted, yellow-stained hair, and almost all with their foreheads streaked with red or white, a string of beads round their necks, and a stout staff in their hands. Every now and then, covered waggons drawn by the high-humped bullocks of Upper India, or by the smaller breed of Bengal, according to the nationality of the owner, creak past on their wooden wheels. Those from the Northern Provinces still bear traces of the licentious Musalmán rule, by being jealously shut up. The Bengali husband, on the other hand, keeps his women good-tempered, and renders pilgrimage pleasant, by piercing holes in the waggon-hood, through which dark female eyes constantly peep out. Then a lady in coloured trousers, from some village near Delhi, ambles past on a tiny pony, her husband submissively walking by her side, and a female domestic, with a hamper of Ganges water and a bundle of dirty cloth, bringing up the rear. Next a great train of palankeens, carrying a Calcutta banker and his ladies, sweeps past. I met one consisting of forty palankeens, with 320 bearers and about fifty luggage-carriers, whose monotonous chant made itself heard far off in the silent night. But the greatest spectacle is a north country Rájá with his caravan of elephants, camels, led horses, and swordsmen, looking resigned and very helpless in his sedan of state, followed by all the indescribable confusion, dirt, and noises of Indian royalty.

The great spiritual army that thus marches its hundreds, and sometimes its thousands of miles, along burning roads, across unbridged rivers, and through pestilent regions of jungle and swamp, is annually recruited with as much tact and regularity as is bestowed on any military force. Attached to the temple is a body of emissaries, called

pilgrim-hunters, or pilgrim-guides, according as a friendly or a hostile view is taken of their functions, numbering about 3000 men, who visit every province and district of India in search of devotees. Each of the leading priests keeps up a separate set of these men, sending them to the province of which he enjoys the spiritual charge, and claiming the profits of the disciples they bring in. They wander about from village to village within their allotted beats, preaching pilgrimage as the liberation from sin, and sometimes using arguments as worldly, and drawing pictures as overstrained, as those by which the flagging devotion of Europe was lashed into zeal during the later crusades.

The arrival of a pilgrim-hunter is a memorable event in the still life of an Indian village. There is no mistaking the man. The half-bald shaven head, the tunic of coarse dirty cloth, the cap drawn over the ears, the palm-leaf umbrella, the knapsack on the back, and the quid of narcotic leaf which he chews and rolls in his cheek as he strides forward, proclaim the emissary of Jagannáth. He seldom shines in public exhortation, but waits till the men have gone out to the fields, and then makes a round of visits to the women. Skilled in every artifice of persuasion, he works upon the religious fears and the worldly hopes of the female mind; and by the time the unsuspecting husbands come home from their work, every house has its fair apostle of pilgrimage. The elder women and some of the aged fathers of the hamlet long to see the face of the merciful god who will remit the sins of a life, and are content to lay their bones within his precincts. Religious motives of a less emphatic sort influence the majority. The hopes of worldly reward for a good deed swell the number. The fashionableness of

pilgrimage, and that social self-complacency which springs from being in the mode, attract the frivolous. The young are hooked by the novelty of a journey through strange lands. Poor widows catch at anything to relieve the tedium of their blighted existence; and barren wives long to pick up the child-giving berries of the banyan tree within the sacred enclosure, and to pour out the petition of their souls before the kindly god.

The shut-up, aimless life of Indian women gives a peculiar charm to the enterprise. The arrival of a pilgrim-hunter sends a general flutter through the whole zanánas of the district, and a hundred little female heads beat wildly against the wires of their cages. In parties of thirty pilgrims I seldom counted more than five men, and sometimes not more than three. The best authorities I have consulted give the proportion of males at ten per cent., and one native writer puts them at less than five in a hundred.[1] The first part of the journey is pleasant enough. Change of scene, new countries, new races, new languages, and a world of new customs and sights, await the travellers from Upper India. A good part of the distance is now accomplished by railway, and the northern pilgrims can thus get over their first 1000, or even 1400 miles, if they chose to travel straight through, in three days. But generally they walk from 300 to 600 miles, and long before they have reached the holy city their strength is spent. The sturdy women of Hindustán brave it out, and sing songs till they drop; but the weaker females of Bengal limp piteously along with bleeding feet in silence, broken only by deep sighs and an occasional sob. The pilgrim-hunter tries to keep

[1] Letter from Sri. B. in the Som Prakás, a Bengáli weekly, dated 18th May 1868 (6th Jyaistha 1278, Bengáli era).

up their spirits, and insists, with a necessary obduracy, on their doing a full day's journey every day, in order that they may reach in time for the festival. Many a sickly girl dies upon the road; and by the time they reach Purí, the whole party has its feet bound up in rags, plastered with dirt and blood. I have counted bands in which nine out of every ten were lame.

But, once within sight of the holy city, the pains and miseries of the journey are forgotten. They hurry across the ancient Marhattá bridge with songs and ejaculations, and rushing towards one of the great artificial lakes, plunge beneath its sacred waters in a transport of religious emotion. The dirty bundles of rags now yield their inner treasures of spotless cotton, and the pilgrims, refreshed and robed in clean garments, proceed to the temple. The pilgrim-hunter makes over the flock to his priestly employer, and every hour discloses some new idol or solemn spectacle. As they pass the Lion Gate a man of the sweeper caste strikes them with his broom to purify them of their sins, and forces them to promise, on pain of losing all the benefits of pilgrimage, not to disclose the events of the journey or the secrets of the shrine.

In a few days the excitement subsides. At first nothing can exceed their liberality to their spiritual guide. But thoughts of the slender provision remaining for the return journey soon begin to cool their munificence, and the ghostly man's attentions slacken in proportion. Before a week is over money altercations commence, which in process of time resolve themselves into an acrimonious haggling over every shrine, and the last few days of their stay are generally devoted to schemes for getting out of the holy city with as few more payments as possible.

Every day the pilgrims bathe in one of the sacred lakes. These vast artificial sheets of water are embanked with solid masonry, honeycombed by time, and adorned with temples rising from the edge or peeping from beneath masses of rich foliage. At the principal one 5000 bathers may be seen at once. On the masonry banks, which are formed into one continuous flight of steps all the way round, a good mile in length, there is sometimes not an inch of standing room to be had. Here, as in every spot where the common people congregate, the primitive adoration of local divinities and village gods makes its appearance. In this centre of Vishnu-worship, half-way down the grand flight of steps to the lake, stands a venerable banyan tree, the abode of an ancient sylvan deity, whom the pilgrims propitiate by sticking red flowers into the crevices of the weather-beaten trunk.

Not far off is the garden-house of Jagannáth, whither the three sacred images are drawn during the Car Festival. I have mentioned that the Chinese travellers in the fifth century describe a similar ceremonial of the Buddhists. But I suspect that both the Buddhists and the later worshippers of Jagannáth caught the idea from those older woodland rites, of which traces survive in every hamlet of Bengal. To this day each district has some secluded spot in the jungle, whither the villagers flock once a year to adore the *genius loci*, in the shape of a log, or a lump of clay, or a black stone, or the trunk of a tree.[1] I believe the Car Festival is only a very pompous development of this primitive hankering after forest devotions, skilfully incorporated with the incidents

[1] For an interesting example, see my Annals of Rural Bengal, vol. i. (The Ethnical Frontier), p. 131.

of the legendary life of Krishna, who was himself essentially a woodland god.

The garden-house stands at the end of a long, broad, sandy avenue, somewhat under a mile in length, which runs direct from it to the temple. It is surrounded by a massive wall, about twenty feet high, and castellated at the top, like the fortresses of Northern India. The principal gateway looks towards the temple, and is a handsome structure with a fine pointed roof adorned with lions in the most conventional style of Hindu sculpture. Inside one catches glimpses of long straight walks and groves of bright evergreen trees, with an ancient shrine at the end of the vista. A glory of tropical foliage, vocal with birds, overtops the lofty wall with every shade of green, from the slender-stemmed, feathery elegance of the coronetted palm, to the solid masses of the mango, and the hoary majesty of the banyan tree.

Another place visited by all pilgrims is the Swarga-Dwára, the Gate of Heaven. The devotee threads his way through the deep-sunk narrow alleys of the town, with their thatched huts of wattle or mud gaily painted with red and yellow gods, till he reaches the shore. There, on the south of the city, he comes on a region of sand-hills bordered by temples and tombs behind, and with the surf-beaten beach in front. No distinct boundaries mark the limits of the Gate of Heaven. It runs about a quarter of a mile along the coast, or 'as much as may be occupied by a thousand cows.'[3] In the background the lofty tower of Jagannáth rises from the heart of the city; and in the intervening space little monasteries cluster, each in its own hollow between the sandy hills, with a green patch of cultivation at the bottom watered

[3] Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 51.

from a deep masonry well. Sometimes an outlying rood or two is reclaimed, with infinite labour, from the sandy slopes, and fenced in by a curious wall made of the red earth pots in which the holy food is served out to the pilgrims. The sacred rice can only be placed in a new vessel, and every evening thousands of the unbroken pots are at the disposal of any one in want of such slender building materials.

Here the pilgrims bathe. At the great festival, as many as 40,000 rush together into the surf; and every evening silent groups may be seen purifying themselves for their devotions under the slanting rays of the sun. It is a spot sanctified by the funeral rites of generations. The low castes who bury their dead, dig a hasty hole in the sand, and the hillocks are covered with bones and skulls, which have been washed bare by the tropical rains, or dug up by the jackals. During the famine of 1866, thousands thus found an indiscriminate sepulture. But long before that time, the place had been known as a magazine of mortality, in which corruption reigned with all its emblems of sovereignty exposed to view.

The respectable Hindu, with his sensitive shrinking from personal contamination, and from the details of human decay, resolves the frame into its elements by means of incremation. Every evening, the funeral pyres may be seen glancing across the water, while groups sit sadly around in the fitful light. Devotees from every province of India come hither to do the last offices for a brother, or a parent, or a wife. I have talked to many pilgrims in this shrine of death; and so far as one man can judge of the inner life of another, some of them had drawn very near in their hearts to God.

One little group came to bury their mother. They

had journeyed with a pilgrim band from the far west, beyond the limits of British India, and had visited the great shrines at Allahábád, Benares, and Gyá upon the way. They had done as much of the distance as they could by railway; but they had walked about 500 miles besides. The journey had taken three months. One-sixth of them had already died; and several had been so disabled as to require to finish their pilgrimage in a bullock cart. But the oldest woman in the party—a brave up-country matron—had never flinched. She had constantly urged them forward, in order, she said, that she might reach the holy city before she died. The same day she arrived, she prevailed upon the priests to conduct her to the temple, where she gazed in silent rapture on the god. Next morning she fell ill. The other pilgrims began to recover their strength, but she gradually declined; and now her sons had come to burn her body on the sands. She had reached the Gate of Heaven at last. They laid down the bier at the edge of the sea, till the ripples wetted the vermilion-sprinkled yellow shroud. A green leaf had been placed in her girdle, and another on her breast. Then, with all her ornaments around her arms and ankles, they laid her on the pile, and in a few minutes the forked flames flashed up into the skies.

Disease and death make havoc of the pilgrims. During their stay in Purí they are badly lodged and miserably fed. The priests impress on them the impropriety of dressing food within the holy city; and the temple kitchen thus secures the monopoly of cooking for the multitude. The eatables served out chiefly consist of boiled rice. Peas, pulse, clarified butter, sugar, and rice are also made into a variety of confections. The

charges seem to be reasonable enough; a mess of rice sufficient for two men costing three half-pence, except during the festivals, when the vast number of customers enables the cooks to raise their prices. Before being offered for sale it is presented to Jagannáth in the outer hall, but within sight of the image, and thus becomes holy food. When fresh it is not unwholesome, although the pilgrims complain of the cooking being often very bad. But, unfortunately, only a part of it is eaten fresh, as it is too sacred for the least fragment to be thrown away. Large quantities of it are sold in a state dangerous even to a man in robust health, and deadly to the way-worn pilgrims, half of whom reach Purí with some form or other of bowel complaint. 'When examined after twenty-four hours, even in January,' writes one of the leading sanitary authorities in India, 'putrefactive fermentation had begun in all the rice compounds, and after forty-eight hours the whole was a loathsome mass of putrid matter, utterly unfit for human use. This food forms the chief subsistence of the pilgrims, and the sole subsistence of the beggars who flock in hundreds to the shrines during the festival. It is consumed by some one or other, whatever its state of putrefaction, to the very last morsel.'[4]

The only kinds of holy food not reported as utterly putrid at the end of forty-eight hours were the sweetmeats; and as the pilgrims carry these condiments to their distant homes, ample time is allowed for the process of putrefaction to complete itself. Dr. Mouat describes them as 'a compound of dead flies, rancid butter, and dirty sugar;' and although I have seen many specimens of a better sort, I perfectly agree with his conclusion,

[4] Report of Dr. Mouat, Inspector-General of Jails.

that 'it is difficult to imagine any regimen better calculated to aid the crowding and filth in their evil influence on the human frame.'

But bad food is only one of many predisposing causes to diseases which the pilgrims have to encounter. The low level of Purí, and the sandy ridges which check its natural drainage towards the sea, render it a very dirty city. Each house is built on a little mud platform about four feet high. In the centre of the platform is a drain which receives the filth of the household, and discharges it in the form of black stinking ooze on the street outside. The platform itself becomes gradually soaked with the pestiferous slime. In many houses, indeed, a deep open cesspool is sunk in the earthen platform; and the wretched inmates eat and sleep around this perennial fountain of death. Those whose experience of foul smells is confined to cities in the temperate zone, can form no idea of the suffocating stench which such cesspools throw off in a tropical temperature between 85° and 105° during seven months of the year. Nor is there any outlet for the deadly gases that bubble up from them day and night. As a rule, the houses consist of two or three cells, leading one into the other, without windows or roof-ventilation of any sort.[5]

In these lairs of disease, the unhappy pilgrims are massed together in a manner shocking to humanity. The town contains 6363 houses, with a resident population of about 25,000 souls.[6] But almost every citizen takes in pilgrims, and there are not less than 5000 lodging-houses in the city. The scenes of agony and suffocation

[5] Report of Dr. D. B. Smith, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, part i. p. 2, 1868

[6] *Idem*, p. 5.

that take place in these putrid dens baffle description. 'I was shown one apartment,' says Dr. Mouat in the Report above cited, 'in the best pilgrim hotel of the place, in which eighty persons were said to have passed the night. It was 13 feet long, 10 feet 5 inches broad, with side walls 6½ feet in height, and a low pent roof over it. It had but one entrance, and no escape for the effete air. It was dark, dirty, and dismal when empty, and must have been a pest-house during the festival. In this house occurred the first case of cholera of the last outbreak. If this be the normal state of the best lodging-house in the broad main street of Purí, it is not difficult to imagine the condition of the worst, in the narrow, confined, undrained back-slums of the town.'

'I went into a house in the town this afternoon,' says the curt, official diary of the police superintendent. 'Above forty-five pilgrims were putting up, men and women. The place had only two doors, no windows. One of the doors was locked. This place measured 12 by 20 feet. Certainly not more; and in this place no less than forty-five persons were crammed. The stench was overpowering, and the heat like an oven. No wonder the people are attacked with cholera.'[7] Elsewhere he reports, 'the space allowed per head to be just as much as they can cover by lying down.' But even this is not always given. 'The poorer up-country pilgrims submit to crowded rooms,' writes the magistrate, 'but the Orissa pilgrims crowd into a room, till it would be difficult to introduce another person.'

These calm, official statements tell a more terrible

[7] Extracted from the Diary of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police: first circle, for the week ending 16th November 1867. Quoted from Sanitary Commissioner's Report.

story than could be conveyed by any amount of sensational writing. Indeed the mere abstract figures of the space supplied, and the accommodation required, disclose an amount of human suffering sickening to contemplate. In estimating the value of the oblations, I have given the number of devotees as stated by the native head clerk of the district. He computed the numbers that attend the Car Festival at 90,000, and considered that sometimes as many as 300,000 visited Purí in the course of the year. Nor is there any reason to consider these estimates excessive. The old registers during the period when the tax was levied, notoriously fell below the truth; yet I find that in five out of the ten years between 1820 and 1829, the official return amounted to between one and two hundred thousand. The pilgrims from the south are a mere handful compared with those who come from Bengal and Northern India, yet it has been ascertained, that 65,000 find their way to Purí, across the Chilká Lake, in two months alone.[8] Along the great north road the stream flows day and night. As many as 20,000 arrive at a favourite halting-place between sunrise and sunset.[9] As many as 9613 were actually counted by the police leaving Purí on a single day, and 19,209 during the last six days in June. This is the number absolutely ascertained to have departed; and probably many more slipped off unperceived. In looking over the records of the reverend missionaries in Orissa, I find the estimate of the pilgrims present at the Car Festival alone, in some years as high as 145,000.

There can be little doubt therefore that 90,000

[8] Proceedings of Madras Government, 20th December 1864. Public Works Department, No. 422, para. 6.

[9] Statement of the Rev. Mr. Bachelor, quoted Sanitary Commissioner's Report, part ii. p. 48.

people are often packed for weeks together in the 5000 lodging-houses of Purí. In some of them the over-crowding falls short of suffocation by scarce a hair's breadth. Indeed, the official reports of the sweltering masses crammed within certain measured square feet seemed so horrible and so incredible, that the Inspector-General of Jails instituted an experiment in a prison ward to test the possibility of the statements. Throughout the whole city we find an average of eighteen human beings packed into each house, consisting of two, or at the most three, stifling cells without windows, at a temperature which, for seven months, is often as high as 105° in the shade, and seldom below 90°.

At certain seasons of the year this misery is mitigated by sleeping out of doors. In the dry weather the streets of Purí look like a great encampment without the tents. The spiritual army slumbers in regiments and battalions. The same cotton garment which they wear during the day, serves to wrap them from head to foot at night. Tiny rush-lights glimmer amid the prostrate groups, but every face is so completely enveloped in the white cloth that a child might seek its parent all night long across the ghastly expanse of mummies. The soaking dews are unwholesome enough, but as long as the people can spend the night outside, some check exists to the over-crowding of pilgrims by rapacious lodging-house keepers. How slight this check practically proves, may be judged of from the fact that the official reports before cited are specially selected as referring to the season when people can sleep out of doors with impunity. But the Car Festival, the great ceremony of the year, unfortunately falls at the beginning of the rains. The water pours down for hours in almost solid sheets. Every

lane and alley becomes a torrent or a stinking canal which holds in suspension the accumulated filth heaps of the hot weather. The wretched pilgrims are now penned into the lodging-house cells without mercy. Cholera invariably breaks out. The living and the dying are huddled together with a leaky roof above, and a miry clay floor under foot, 'the space allotted per head being just as much as they can cover lying down.'

The steps that are being taken by Government to mitigate these horrors will be subsequently explained. Meanwhile, it is only fair to say that they have already had some measure of success, and that miserable as the lot of the pilgrim still is, it was once infinitely worse. There is no need to refer to the pest-houses of Mecca, or to the Easter pilgrim-ships of the Levant. We have descriptions, by unimpeachable eye-witnesses, of the streets of Purí in former times, which the most distant generation will be unable to read without a shudder. They are so incredibly horrible that I do not venture to put them into my own words. Here is a picture of the city in 1841. Corpse-fields lay around the town, in one of which, the traveller 'counted between forty and fifty bodies besides many skeletons which had been picked by vultures. The birds were sitting in numbers on the neighbouring sand-hills and trees, holding carnivorous festivity on the dead; and the wild dogs lounged about full of the flesh of man. But the streets and lanes of the town, as well as the large road, presented many scenes of the most appalling misery and humiliation. In several instances, poor, deserted women, quite naked, formed a dam to the insufferable filthiness of a thousand bodies, washed down the narrow streets by the sudden showers. Here they lay, throwing about their arms in agony, im-

ploring a little water of the heedless passers-by, who formed a half-circle around them for a moment and passed on. They had rolled about till they had lost their clothing, which was discernible at a small distance, beaten by the battering rain till it had mixed with the sand and mud. Others lay quiet enough, covered over by their cloth, except perhaps their feet and hands, having apparently died without much struggling. Others again, in their last extremity, with their clothing soaked, and their skin white with the soddening rain, had crawled under the partial shelter of some house or shed, awaiting in apparent insensibility their last moment.'[10] 'I have visited the valley of death,' wrote the Bishop of Calcutta in 1838. 'The horrors are unutterable.'

On the return journey the misery of the pilgrims reaches its climax. The rapacity of the Purí priests and lodging-house keepers has passed into a proverb. A week or ten days finishes the process of plundering, and the stripped and half-starved pilgrims crawl out of the city with their faces towards home. They stagger along under their burdens of holy food, wrapped up in dirty cloth, or packed away in heavy baskets and red earthen pots. The men from the Upper Provinces further encumber themselves with a palm-leaf umbrella, and a bundle of canes dyed red, beneath whose strokes they did penance at the Lion Gate. As the Car Festival, which attracts the great mass of devotees, falls at the commencement of the rains, they find every stream flooded. Hundreds of them have not money enough left to pay for being ferried over the network of rivers in the delta. Even those who can pay have often to sit for days in the rain on the bank before a boat will

[10] Letter to Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, on Jagannáth, 1843, pp. 12, 13.

venture to launch on the ungovernable torrent. At a single river an English traveller counted as many as forty festering corpses, over which the kites were battling with blood-stained beaks, and the dogs with dripping fangs.

The famished, drenched throng toils painfully backward, urged by the knowledge that their slender stock of money will only last a very few weeks, and that after it is done, nothing remains but to die. The missionaries along the line of march have ascertained that sometimes they travel forty miles a day, dragging their weary limbs along 'till they drop from sheer fatigue.'[11] Hundreds die upon the roadside. Those are most happy whom insensibility overtakes in some English station. The servants of the municipalities pick them up and carry them to the hospitals. Horrible stories are told of the fate of wretched women who fall behind or get separated from their company. In 1868 a writer in a vernacular paper asserted that a band of reprobates from Central India frequented Purí for the purpose of kidnapping females, and selling them into the Musalmán zenanas of the far west. The same writer declares that the priests entice unhappy girls into their protection, and consign them to a life of vice. From what I could learn, and I have made diligent inquiries, these statements appear to have been exaggerations at the time, and have now ceased to contain a grain of truth. But the records of the Orissa Lunatic Asylum disclose only too conclusively the fate which many a female pilgrim undergoes.[12]

Even those who reach home contract diseases from

[11] The Rev. A. F. Lacroix, quoted in Sanitary Commissioner's Report, part ii. p. 48.

[12] Som Prakás, 18th May 1868.

exposure by the way that cripple them for the rest of their lives. They crowd into the villages and halting-places along the road, blocking up the streets, and creating an artificial famine. The available sleeping-places are soon crammed to overflowing, and every night thousands have no shelter from the pouring rain. Miserable groups huddle under trees. Long lines, with their heads on their bundles, lie among the carts and bullocks on the side of the road. The bridges are paved with their sodden bodies. It is only the fortunate first comers, however, who get so dry a bed. The steep slopes of the road embankments are next taken up.[13] But hundreds have to sit upon the wet grass, not daring to lie down, rocking themselves to a monotonous chant, something between a whimper and a moan, through the long dismal night. 'It is useless to rise and go away,' writes an eye-witness.[14] 'Where can they go? Every house is full. They are soaked to the skin in a few minutes. Their hair mixes with the mud in which they lie, and they await the morning to continue their dismal journey. But many of them rise no more. These are then left to die, forsaken and alone, by the roadside.'

It is impossible to compute with anything like precision the numbers that thus perish. The lowest estimate I have seen was by a native official, whose book is conceived in a spirit most favourable to Government. He reckons the deaths in Purí and on the way at 10,000 a year. The largest estimate I have seen is by the late Bishop Wilson, whose well-poised mind was little likely to accept or to propagate exaggerations. He calculated

[13] Rev. Mr. Lacroix, cited Sanitary Commissioner's Report, part ii. p. 49.

[14] Rev. Mr. Mullens, abridged.

the number at 50,000. My own inquiries among the poorer pilgrims lead me to believe that the deaths in the city and by the way seldom fall below one-eighth, and often amount to one-fifth of each company; and the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal confirms me in this view. Among the richer devotees, who travel in bullock carts or by palankeen, the losses, so far as I could ascertain, do not exceed the ordinary contingencies of a long journey performed in the most trying season of the Indian year. But, on the other hand, outbreaks of cholera take place, which, although now controlled to some extent by science, spare neither rich nor poor. Indeed, few pilgrims from the distant provinces of Upper India attend the great Car Festival in midsummer, except the very fanatical who first make their arrangements for dying on the road. While the population of Lower Bengal flocks to this ceremonial, the northern devotees content themselves with a cold weather pilgrimage to the Swinging Festival in March, and even then the deadly hot season catches them before they regain their native villages. It is impossible, I think, to reckon the total number of the poorer sort who travel on foot at less than 84,000. It is equally impossible to reckon their deaths in Purí and on the road at less than one-seventh, or 12,000 a year. Deducting 2000 from these for the ordinary death-rate, we have a net slaughter of 10,000 per annum. Every year, therefore, this homicidal enterprise massacres six times more men than Plassey, which won for us India, and Waterloo, which redeemed for us Europe, put together cost the British troops, in missing and slain.[15] The computation is exclusive of the deaths

[15] Treatise on Ambulances, by Deputy Inspector-General Longmore. By Authority. P. 495, etc.

among the richer pilgrims, who do not travel on foot. So far as political arithmetic is possible in India, the evidence goes to show that 10,000 peasants yearly sacrifice their lives to a pilgrimage to Jagannáth.

It may well be supposed that the British Government has not looked unmoved on this appalling spectacle. Nothing but a total prohibition of pilgrimage, however, would put a stop to the annual massacre. But such a prohibition would be a signal infringement of the tenure by which we hold India, and would be regarded by 150,000,000 of British subjects as a great national wrong. It would close one of their recognised avenues of salvation, an avenue which generations of devout Hindus trod for centuries before England emerged into European history, and which has descended as a precious heirloom to the Indian races of the present day. A prohibition of pilgrimage in Bengal would amount to an interdict on one of the most cherished religious privileges of the people.

The subject has from time to time come up for official discussion; and in 1867 a last effort was made to enlist the educated classes against so homicidal a practice. Circular letters were sent to every division of Bengal, and the utmost influence of the higher officials was brought to bear. The Viceroy, while disclaiming any wish to interfere with the religious feelings of the people, urged them to consider the 'exposure, disease, and death,' which pilgrimage to Jagannáth entails.[16] But the answers which came in from every part of Bengal admitted of no hope. All that remained was to institute a system of sanitary surveillance and quarantine, which should reduce the inevitable loss of life to a minimum.

[16] Letter dated Simla, 21st August 1867, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Such measures are of three kinds,—the first being directed to lessen the number of pilgrims; the second to mitigate the dangers of the road; and the third to prevent epidemics in Purí. Anything like a general prohibition of pilgrimage would be an outrage upon the religious feelings of the people. But in seasons of cholera or of other great calamity in Orissa, it would be possible to check the pilgrim stream, by giving warning in the Government Gazette, and through the medium of the vernacular papers. Thousands of devotees would put off the enterprise to another year. It is very difficult, however, to give such warnings before the month in which the pilgrims usually start. But in extreme cases they might be stopped upon the road, and turned back before they entered Orissa. This was done in the famine year 1866, and native public opinion supported the action of Government. But it could not be too distinctly understood, that such an interference is only justifiable under extreme and exceptional circumstances.

The second set of preventive measures can be applied with greater safety, and with more certain results. Thousands of pilgrims every year die upon the journey from exhaustion and want of food. Nor does there seem any possibility of lessening the number of deaths from these causes. But until very recently, some thousands also died of diseases which, if taken in time, are under the control of medical science. Within the last few years pilgrim hospitals have been established along the great roads; and, as I have already said, if a devotee is so fortunate as to drop within a municipality, he is immediately picked up and cared for. I can bear testimony to the vigilant humanity of the English officers who carry out this good work. I have seen a magistrate ride

through the noisome native quarter of his town, rapidly scrutinizing each body of pilgrims, and singling out those who, unless immediately provided for, would have sunk upon the next stage. Nor can I pass over the devotion with which the Civil Surgeon of Purí has organized and maintained a medical patrol along the road. In the height of the cholera season, when the floods had turned the whole delta into a malarious swamp, this gentleman, at the hourly risk of his own life, rode up and down the highway amid torrents of rain, and every day gathered a harvest of disease-stricken wretches, who would have perished within the next twenty-four hours. Such a patrol, if maintained throughout the whole of Orissa, might annually save hundreds of lives. But it would cost a large sum of money; and at present it has only been established in the immediate vicinity of Purí—the locality which requires it most.

Against such a patrol it may very fairly be argued, that it is unjust to charge the general taxpayer with the cost of preserving men from dangers which they deliberately make up their minds to incur. Orissa is financially a poor Province; and it stands in such urgent need of public works to save its own population from floods and famines, that it has nothing to spare for sentimental efforts to protect men from the consequence of their own acts. Even if such a patrol were instituted, and if pilgrim hospitals were established every few miles along the road, the devotees would seldom enter them, except at the last extremity. The surgeons justly complain that they rarely get a pilgrim patient until he is beyond the reach of aid. I have seen unhappy wretches crawling along with death looking out of their faces, who nevertheless refused to avail themselves of medical advice as long as conscious-

ness continued. It becomes therefore a very grave question, how far officials are justified in trying to force their assistance on those who will not help themselves. In cholera seasons, the Government owes such measures to the public health of the Province. But in ordinary years, the pilgrim hospitals which it already maintains at a considerable expense, seem to be all it can properly do.

The difficulty would disappear if the pilgrims as a class could be charged for the conveniences provided for them. But it is impossible to invent any form of impost to be levied from them, which would not be misinterpreted into a pilgrim tax, and a sanction to idolatrous rites. Such an impost, however, would simply be a sanitation cess. The pilgrims annually endanger the public health of the Province, and might be fairly charged with the cost of preventive measures. A small rate levied at the two entrances to Purí City would suffice. Unhappily, however, no amount of argument would at present convince the natives that such a cess was not a revival of the pilgrim tax in its original form. The idea of a special cess has therefore been abandoned; and the only mode in which the Government has deemed it possible to make the pilgrims contribute to the sanitation charges which pilgrimage involves, is by slightly raising the ferry rates on the Orissa rivers. In practice, this proves a troublesome and an unfruitful source of revenue. The devotees from the south have no rivers to cross, and are therefore altogether exempted; while those from the north, if they only avoid the Government ferries, may travel hundreds of miles without coming on a single toll-bar.

There exists, however, another means of decreasing the danger of the road besides medical patrols and pilgrim hospitals. The large towns along the route

always contain the elements of cholera; and, indeed, that disease is seldom wholly absent from any Indian city. The arrival of the pilgrim stream is, year after year, the signal for the ordinary sporadic cases to assume the dimensions of an epidemic. Cattack, the capital of Orissa, suffered so regularly and so severely from the passage of the pilgrim army, that the doctors, having tried everything else, at last determined to shut the devotees entirely out of the city. The result upon the public health has been marvellous. Police are stationed at the entrance to the town, and warn the pilgrims that they must skirt round the municipal boundaries. A sanitary cordon is thus maintained, and Cattack is now free from the annual calamity to which it was for centuries subject.

This inexpensive quarantine might easily be applied to other municipalities along the pilgrim highway. The devotees suffer no inconvenience; for as soon as the change in their route is known, little hamlets of grain-sellers set up outside the cordon. Indeed, the pilgrims would be the gainers by the change, in so far as they could purchase their food free of octroi, or other municipal charges, where such charges exist.

But though much may be done upon the road, more could be done in Purí itself. That city becomes annually a centre from which disease and death radiate throughout the Province. Whatever theory individual medical men may entertain regarding the origin of cholera, their united testimony proves that the returning bands from Jagannáth carry it, stage by stage, along the pilgrim highway. Yet it was only in 1867[17] that a health officer was ap-

[17] The proposal was due to the Honourable Mr. Strachey. Letter No 312, to Secretary to Government of India, dated 29th May 1867.

pointed for Purí; and from that year a marked improvement dates. But sanitation involves a power of spending money, and the health officer's hands are tied for want of funds to give effect to any organized system of conservancy. Purí is an indigent city; or rather, the only classes that can be subjected to local rates are unable to pay them. The pilgrims would support a wealthy community of grain merchants, but for the fact that the temple cooks claim the monopoly of supplying their food. The first thing that strikes a stranger on entering the town is the scarcity of rice-shops. The pilgrims buy scarcely anything in the market. Whatever little store of rupees they may have knotted in their girdles, goes exclusively to the priests and cooks of Jagannáth; and any attempt to interfere with these privileged classes, or to make them contribute to a local conservancy rate, would be denounced as a temple tax. It thus happens, that although Purí is a very rich city, it is a very poor one for fiscal purposes. The revenue officers cannot pry into the hoarded treasures of the sanctuary, nor reach the priestly coffers into which the wealth of Bengal annually pours.

Yet it must be remembered that, without sanitary measures, Purí will remain a pest-house whence streams of disease constantly issue. First of all, it is absolutely necessary to check the over-crowding in the lodging-houses. To this end it has been proposed to form a pilgrim encampment on the sands outside the town. Such a camp would consist of moveable wooden or iron huts, for 'no power can prevent a large body of natives from polluting the ground on which they dwell.'[18] The huts would be purified and kept in store during seven

[18] Memorandum by Dr. Mouat, Inspector-General of Jails.

months in the year, and put up on the approach of any of the great festivals. A well-regulated camp of this sort might afford a perfect solution of the difficulty. But it would be very costly to Government. Carpenters and artificers would have to be brought from Cattack, as the local supply is entirely taken up by the priests for the construction of the cars, or other works connected with the festivals. It would involve a separate conservancy staff, with separate hospitals and latrines, and a distinct police establishment. It is doubtful, moreover, whether sufficient space could be found for such shifting camps, free from inundation, or at least from excessive dampness, without preliminary and very costly drainage works.[19]

Another proposal is to regulate the pilgrim inns of Purí by special legislation. Purí is essentially a city of lodging-houses, with a distinct set of dangers and abuses of their own. In 1866 a Bill was introduced into the Bengal Council for the better regulation of such establishments.[20] In 1867 an amended Act was based upon it.[21] The first had been too searching and cumbrous. The second confined itself exclusively to the prevention of over-crowding, and omitted provisions regarding conservancy, infectious diseases, and water supply. In 1868, therefore, the Sanitary Commissioner submitted a new Act, which endeavoured to avoid both extremes. It provided for the appointment of a health officer, who should inspect the lodging-houses, and report on them to the magistrate. No such house was to be opened

[19] *Vide* Jagannáth Report of Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, part i. p. 12. 1868.

[20] Known as Mr. Prinsep's Bill, introduced 15th December 1866, and referred to a Select Committee of the Council.

[21] Known as Mr. Schalch's Bill.

without a licence; and licences were to be granted only upon a certificate from the surgeon, stating the suitability of the tenement for the purpose, and the number of persons which it could properly accommodate. Except in cases where the lodging-house keepers were persons of known respectability, their establishments were to continue under the surveillance of the health officer, and penalties were provided for wilful over-crowding, and similar breaches of the licence.

This Act would unquestionably put an end to the present abuses. But if suddenly introduced, it would intensify rather than mitigate the sufferings of the pilgrims. At present these unhappy people have at least the choice of half-suffocation under a roof, or of exposure to the rain outside. The Bill denies them the first alternative. Its passing would be the instant signal for turning out two-thirds of the pilgrims into the streets, and the effort to secure better accommodation for them would deprive the greater proportion of them of any shelter whatever.[22] In an English town, capital would immediately rush into the vacuum, and make the supply equal to the demand. But in India the law of supply and demand, although perfectly to be relied on in the long run, acts very slowly, and by cryptic or indirect processes. The mere fact of Government having interfered in the matter, would raise a thousand wild rumours and suspicions. In proportion as the Act was stringently enforced, would be the necessity for additional lodging-houses. But, unfortunately, in proportion to the increased necessity would be the panic, and the local aversion to enter upon the trade. It only remains to prepare the minds of the people for

[22] *Vide* Mr. Raban's Report to Government; Sanitary Commissioner's Report, iii. 10. 1868.

the measure, and to introduce it with moderation and caution.

Meanwhile it might be possible, by quarantine, to prevent the Purí epidemics spreading into the adjoining Provinces. Choleraic infection remains for a very short time about the human body. A very able, and a recent writer on the subject, limits the period to three days, and declares six days' quarantine an absolute guarantee against any mishap.[23] But even a week of medical surveillance would involve arrangements as costly as a pilgrim encampment to the Government, and as irksome as the Lodging-house Bill to the devotees.

I have dwelt on this subject at some length, because it fairly represents the difficulties which sanitation has to encounter everywhere throughout India. In no country does the public health more urgently demand the aid of that science. But the ignorance, prejudices, and suspicions of the people on the one hand, and tne vast demands upon the revenue for more visibly and perhaps more urgently needed public works on the other, do not leave sanitation a chance. Medical men are driven from one project to another, as each is found to be either too costly to Government, or too opposed to the superstitions of the natives. And yet it must not be forgotten that countries far beyond the Himálayas have an interest in the matter. It has been absolutely established that cholera is exclusively propagated in India, and that 'every outbreak of the disease beyond the confines of British India may be traced back to Hindustán.'[24] Year after year the surgeons report that the disease issues

[23] Treatise on Asiatic Cholera, by Surgeon C. Macnamara, section ix. p. 479, etc. London, 1870.

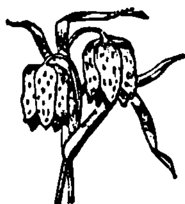
[24] *Idem*, p. 332.

forth from Purí city, and is carried by a continuous chain of human beings into the adjoining Provinces. Sometimes it slays its legions, as in the famine year, when it cut off thirteen per cent. in the Cattack Jail, in spite of medical treatment, and at least twice or thrice that rate among the neglected outside population. Sometimes it does but little harm. But it never wholly ceases. 'America, Europe, and the greater part of Asia, may justly blame India for all they have suffered from cholera,'[25] and India can blame Purí for annually subjecting whole Provinces to the chance of the epidemic. These over-crowded, pest-haunted dens around Jagannáth may become at any moment the centre from which the disease radiates to the great manufacturing towns of France and England. The devotees care little for life or death, nor is it possible to protect men against themselves. But such carelessness imperils lives far more valuable than their own, and the authority I have already cited declares 'that Europe has a right to demand'[26] the necessary preventive measures at the hands of the Indian Government.

Meanwhile much has been done. Pilgrim hospitals stand with their doors open day and night. In seasons of epidemic, a medical patrol does its work of mercy to those who drop upon the road. Well-regulated ferries enable the returning pilgrims to cross the flooded rivers; and crowds of fever-stricken wretches no longer sit day after day in the pouring rain, expending the last few coppers that remain between them and starvation. The story of the traveller who counted forty corpses upon the

[25] Treatise on Asiatic Cholera, by Surgeon C. Macnamara, section ix. p. 323. London, 1870.
[26] *Idem*, p. 481.

banks of a single stream is now a story of thirty years ago. But much as has been done, more remains to do. One of man's most deadly enemies has his lair in this remote corner of Orissa, ever ready to rush out upon the world, to devastate households, to sack cities, and to mark its line of march by a broad black track across three continents. The squalid pilgrim army of Jagannáth, with its rags and hair and skin freighted with vermin and impregnated with infection, may any year slay thousands of the most talented and the most beautiful of our age in Vienna, London, or Washington.





CHAPTER V.

ORISSA UNDER NATIVE RULE.

IN this chapter I have proposed to myself the task of interesting the English reader, in the obscure revolutions by which a strip of the Indian coast has passed from an uninhabited jungle into a British province. No part of Bengal has attracted less notice from the historian or from the scholar. Its hard fate has been to lie between two fertile presidencies, unclaimed and uncared for by either. Till its great agony in 1866 touched the heart of the English people, Orissa was of less account in the empire than a single wealthy district of Bengal or of Madras. The tempests of conquest and the tidal waves of nations that have swept across the rest of India, rarely overtopped the ridges which wall out these shores. Sanskrit literature, with its pre-historic panorama of the upper valley of the Ganges, reaches the last of its slow moving scenes far to the north of Orissa. No curious mosses nor antique forms of life from its coast have found their way into the amber of the Vedic hymns. The great Epic itself, with its bright nucleus in Hindustán, and its broad comet-like tail curving downwards in streams of light to the farthest point of the peninsula, sheds not a momentary flicker over Orissa. In modern times, seen at even a less remote distance than that from

THREE PAGES OF AN ILLUMINATED PALM LEAF BOOK IN THE URIYA CHARACTER.

which English writers on India have viewed the province, its history seems to be little more than an interminable list of kings and of confused dynastic changes. With these changes, however, I shall but sparingly trouble the reader. But their effect upon the people, and the revolutions they have wrought in human existence and human beliefs; the struggles by which a race, buried in its primitive jungles, has from time to time painfully cast its skin and assumed new forms of life; above all, the stages by which diverse ethnical elements have grown together into the composite rural communities of the present day,—these are the arguments of this book. Ancient history too often appears like one of the mediæval cities of the Low Countries, visible far across the plains, but of which the traveller discerned nothing but the minster-spire, the prince's schloss, and an occasional flash of steel upon the walls. Yet priests, and kings, and soldiers were no more the sole inhabitants of the ancient world than they are of our own. They only happened to wear clothes very easily seen at a distance. If we can get near enough to the town, a great din of obscure industry strikes our ears; and for each stately edifice that towers above the walls there are a thousand swarming habitations, too low to be seen from without, but which make the city within.

The sources of this chapter consist partly of notices in ancient Sanskrit works, partly of the itinerary of a Chinese traveller, and partly of fragmentary passages in the Musalmán chroniclers. But fortunately these are not all. The sandstone caves of Orissa form materials of history as imperishable as the solid mountains themselves. Such memorials were till lately the subjects of vague wonder rather than of intelligent inquiry. Their walls

and galleries are charged with stories of ancient life, which they in vain struggled to utter by time-effaced inscriptions and dimly sculptured biographies. The men and women and passions of a pre-historic age eye us from the rock; some of them in wild scenes of action, with their teeth set, and hands uplifted to deal an eternally suspended blow, as if the life-blood still shot through their veins. Others gaze sorrowfully out of their stony sockets, as though charged with some solemn secret, but pass along in spell-bound procession, wistfully waving their arms, and remaining for ever dumb. We scarcely advance beyond this remote period, when the lamp in the muniment-room of Jagannáth begins to shed its dim but never extinguished light. And, once within historic ground, the difficulty is, not to find materials, but to control them, and to bring them within the limits which can properly be assigned to them in this work.

Our earliest glimpses at Orissa disclose an unexplored maritime kingdom, stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishná. It was a long narrow strip of coast, everywhere shut out from the Indian continent by a wide *terra incognita* of mountains and forests. Under the name of Kalinga it appears in the list of countries so frequently reproduced in Sanskrit writings, and generally in one stereotyped order, coming immediately after Lower Bengal, as if adjoining it, in the same way as the Lower Provinces of Bengal are invariably placed after the northern ones.[1] It formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India,[2] with its capital situated about half-way down the coast, and still

[1] Vishnu Purána, iv. 18; Bhágavata, etc., quoted Tattwabodhiní Patriká, vol. ii. 175, 176. Calcutta, 1769, *Sak.*

[2] Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Pundra.

surviving in the present city of Kalingapatnam. We soon, however, become conscious of this territory being divided into two parts. The name Kalinga is applied more distinctively to the delta of the Godávarí, while the delta of the Mahánadí, on the north, gradually stands out as a separate country. The line of demarcation was loosely fixed, and even as late as the Musalmán period, not always recognised. But the mountain spurs which run down to the sea on the south of the Chilká Lake formed a well-defined natural boundary. A wide debatable land existed between the two kingdoms, on the north of which dwelt an Uriyá-speaking people, while the south was inhabited by Telugu races, as at the present day. A fitful connection, however, was kept up between the two. The southern division, from time to time, sent forth settlements into the north, and gave some of the most important dynasties to Orissa. On the other hand, the Uriyá language held its own for centuries, almost to the walls of Kalingapatnam itself.[3] It is still the vernacular of the peasantry for about thirty miles south of the natural boundary, although the Telugú of the courts and State schools is gradually pushing it northwards. I have noticed, however, that while the southern Telugus call the inhabitants of this intermediate country Uriyás, the natives of Orissa call them Telugus, and the

[3] Lassen, whose minute knowledge of Indian districts strikes me with respectful admiration wherever I have gone in Bengal, places the linguistic boundary at Chicacol. It is now farther north. Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. p. 183, Bonn 1847. In references to the different volumes of this work, I invariably refer to it as bound in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The Deputy Collector of Ganjám, Mr. Lyons, who has been upwards of ten years in the district, informs me that the linguistic change begins to be very distinctly felt at Itchhápur. Up to that point, the peasantry and small landholders still speak Uriyá; but I noticed that not only the official classes, but also the better sort of shopkeepers, and, in general, all large merchants, use a mixed dialect of Uriyá and Telugu.

pandits of Bengal[4] still describe Kalinga as including all the country from Jagannáth to the river Krishná. The native Government of Orissa practically acknowledged the natural boundary as the political one, treating as foreigners all devotees who came from the southern side of the Ganjám River, and levying a ten per cent. higher tax from them. This distinction found legislative recognition in our earliest Pilgrim Law, three years after the country passed under British rule.[5]

The northern kingdom, that thus looms hazily forth on the horizon of history, was known as Odra, or Utkala. Scholars and pandits have long wrangled over the derivation of these words. Odra is the aboriginal name, and survives in the present (Odra-desa) Orissa. The people themselves connect it with the little red jungle rose of the same name, and reverence that flower as one of the five blossoms of heaven (mandár). But Hindu ingenuity has not failed to find an Aryan root for it. They interpret it to signify Filth,[6] and support this derivation by texts which prove that the Uriyá tribes ranked low in the estimation of Sanskrit writers. Lassen, with much ingenuity, would make it mean The Northern Country, and appeals to its geographical position in the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.[7] Its second name, Ut-Kala, is unquestionably Sanskrit, and affords a more fertile theme for Hindu ingenuity. The orthodox insist that it means The Glorious Country; lexicographers suggest that it may only be the Land of the Bird-killers; and an

[4] Sabdártha Chintámani, p. 539, by Brahmávadhuta Srí Sukhánanda Náth.

[5] Regulation IV. of 1806, sec. 9.

[6] From unda, *dirt*, with the affix rak. Sabdártha Chintámani, p. 442.

[7] As a prákrit form of Auttara, from uttara, *north*. Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. p. 186, note 2.

admirable student of the modern Aryan tongues interprets it as The Outlying Strip.[8] There is, therefore, a large choice from which the reader will please to select the derivation he likes best.

Little is known regarding this kingdom before the sixth century B.C.; probably owing to the fact of its being almost uninhabitable. It consisted of a densely wooded delta, where the process of land-making was going on with a vigour that rendered it even more unfit for human settlements than the Gangetic sea-face at the present day. The Mahánadí wriggled through a region, half mud, half water, and all jungle, into the Bay. The shallowest parts were swamps, the deepest parts were brackish lakes, and from time to time the river writhed itself out of its former bed into new channels, twisting backwards and forwards over the delta in snake-like convolutions; turning fens into deep lakes; silting up inland seas into shallow marshes; toiling slowly and ceaselessly till the firm earth stood up out of the waters, ready for man. Two thousand years ago, the process went on much faster than now. Every mile that the land pushes itself into the Bay of Bengal, its rate of progress decreases. At present, indeed, the Mahánadí has to cross so broad a delta that almost all the silt which it brings down the gorge above Cattack is deposited before it reaches the sea, and but little remains as materials for the land-manufacture at its mouths. The inundations and catastrophes of Orissa in our days bear the same relation to those of ancient times, which the impotent grumblings of an extinct crater do to the lava streams of a living volcano.

It ceases to be a matter of surprise, therefore, that the

[8] See note at the beginning of the foregoing Chapter III.

only features of ancient Orissa still distinctly discernible from this distance are the all-enveloping jungle, and the frequent shifting and rising of the land. The earliest legends speak of kings hunting over the sites of buried cities, and stumbling against the pinnacles of forgotten shrines. The first Aryan settlers, from the north, found Orissa buried under forests and tall grasses.[9] In the eighth century A.D., we find the Chilká Lake a fine inland sea, crowded with ships from distant countries, and shut out from the adjoining kingdom, on the south, by a forest of many days' journey.[10] It now lies between two fertile districts, and is barely deep enough to float a rowing-boat. In the fourteenth century, Orissa remained the only part of India unexplored by the Musalmáns. It is described as 'a tract of forest which extended nearly from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godávarí, something less than 500 miles in length, and ran inland for a depth of from 300 to 400 miles.' When at length the Musalmáns tardily penetrated into this *terra incognita*, they found it so cut up by rivers, and so strong in mountain and jungle fastnesses, that they asserted their authority only in the longest-settled and oldest-formed part of the delta. The hills on the west, and the sea-board districts on the east where the process of land-making still went vigorously forward, they left under the native chiefs. Even after the Musalmáns had effected their settlements, the country was so little adapted for military movements on a large scale, that its governors frequently asserted their independence, and defied the viceregal troops. The Muhammadan conquerors gladly

[9] Brij Kishore Ghose's Hist. Purí, p. 34.
[10] Julien's Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang, traduite du Chinois, p. 184, ed. 1853.

got rid of the scarcely accessible province as a bribe to the Marhattás. Even at the present day it has not been deemed wise to subject the mountainous inland jungles to regular British control; and the mouths of the Mahánadí still creep through a region of unbroken forest, thirty miles broad, to the sea.

The first human inhabitants that we can discern in Orissa, are hill tribes and fishing settlements belonging to the non-Aryan stock. Their descendants still survive and perpetuate their ancient names. Among them, the Savars and the Kandhs have preserved their ethnical identity most intact. The Kandh tribe will form the subject of a separate chapter. The Savars[11] appear in very early Sanskrit writings, and are spoken of by them with even more than usual detestation. As the Súdras, or aboriginal tribes who had been subdued into the servile caste of the Aryan commonwealth, sprung from the feet of Brahmá, so the Savars and other forest races who successfully withstood the invaders, proceeded from the sweat of a cow.[12] They were goblins, they were devils, they were raw-eaters, they were man-eaters; and the Vishnu Purána has concentrated the national antipathy towards them, in its picture of a dwarfish race, with flat noses, and a skin the colour of a charred stake. Another sacred text assures us that they were as black as crows, with tawny hair, red eyes, a chin jutting out, short arms and legs, and the typical flat nose. A third Sanskrit sage adds a protuberant belly, drooping ears, and an ogre

[11] Variously pronounced Savar, Sabar, Saur, or Sar. As a curious specimen of the disintegration of a word, the name is still spelt Savara in the police reports of Ganjam district; Sourah in the collectorate records; and Saur, Sur, or Sar, in the official documents of the adjoining district of Purí.

[12] Mahábhárata, quoted Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. p. 391, ed. 1868.

mouth.[13] They seem to have made their individuality very strongly felt in ancient India. The beginning of their territory long marked the last point of the Aryan advance. They are spoken of as 'border tribes'[14] who resisted the Sanskrit invaders, scattered armies, and earned for themselves the title of 'the terrible Savars.'[15] Their name even found its way into Greek geographies,[16] and the ancient kingdom of Kalinga was known to the distant islands of the Indian archipelago, while still a *terra incognita* to northern India.

Even the fisher tribes who lived upon the shore, and are now pounded down into a low caste of the Hindu community, have never amalgamated with it. Some of them continue at this moment to bury instead of burning their dead. They are still excluded from the Temple of Jagannáth, and, till within historical times, their pirate galleys were the scourge of the Bay of Bengal. The Chinese traveller who visited Orissa in the seventh century, was warned not to face the resistless fleets of these 'demons;' and instead of taking ship for Ceylon, he proceeded by the long and dangerous land route.[17] He describes the inhabitants of Orissa as tall of stature, black skinned, of rude habits, and speaking a clear ringing language different from the tongues of inner India.[18] They are exactly what we might expect the people of a delta to be, who had settled long enough to acquire the dark colour of a damp tropical region, but who had not yet

[13] See also Sec. III. of Chap. II. of Mr. Carmichael's excellent Account of the District of Vizagapatnam. Madras, 1867.

[14] Aitareya Bráhmana; Sanskrit Texts, i. 483, ed. 1868.

[15] Mahábhárata; Sanskrit Texts, i. 393.

[16] Mr. Carmichael's District of Vizagapatnam, p. 86.

[17] Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang, par Stanislaus Julien. Paris, 1853, p. 183.

[18] Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. iv. p. 3.

lost the manly forms which they brought from their ancient highlands.

The Aryan hatred of these forest races rendered the country detestable to Sanskrit writers, and Orissa long held a very different reputation as regards sanctity from that which it enjoys at the present day. It was essentially an impure country. Its people are denounced as having forsaken religious rites, and sunk to the lowest caste known to the Aryan community.[19] Its impurity passed into a proverb,—'He who goes to Orissa, must cleanse himself from the pollution.'[20] This abhorrence of Orissa has left its mark even upon the stories of Portuguese merchants and of casual voyagers. Throughout the sixteenth century, many hundred years after Purí had become the Jerusalem of the Hindus, English travellers believed in a country on the Orissa coast, 'peopled by men who had horses' heads, and fed on human flesh.'[21]

In the midst of these wild tribes dwelt communities belonging to another stock, and representing a very different stage of civilisation. No Sanskrit story has come down to us of the first Buddhist migration to this remote shore. Bráhmanical literature views them with an abhorrence greater, if possible, than that with which it regarded the forest races. It never even mentions their names, and they themselves have left behind them no writings of their own. A Sanskrit text informs us, indeed, that a holy sage in the north had five sons, each of whom

[19] Manu, Chap. x. Sl. 44. Ed. Devendranáth Thákur. *Sak*, 1788.

[20] Jyotishtattwa devala bachanam, quoted in Tattwabodhiní Patriká; vol. ii. p. 180, *Sak*, 1769. The proverb, however, also applies to Bengal and the whole of Kalinga.

[21] Mr. Talboy's Wheeler's History of Madras, from Official Records. 3 vols. Madras, 1861. Vol. i. p. 7.

founded a military kingdom beyond the Aryan territory. One of them conquered, and gave his name to Kalinga.[22] No evidence survives to fix the date of this expedition. Nor do the Buddhist settlements in Orissa, when first they come in sight, bear in any respect the character of a military occupation. They themselves have long passed beyond the reach of historical inquiry. But their rock habitations survive, and they were certainly not the abode of regal or warlike pomp. They form the earliest historical monuments in Orissa, and are found in many places among the mountains that divide the alluvial strip from the interior table-land. The subdivision of Khurdhá is rich in such relics. In Purí District, I explored two hills completely honeycombed with cells and temples; and a beautiful peak that overlooks the Mahánadí at the point where it issues from its gorge, is perforated with antique dwelling-places, cut in the solid laterite. Hard by, are inscriptions which lift the veil from the forgotten phase of human life that calmly ebbed away century after century in these caves. Their sculptured galleries belong to a more recent date, but even the most elaborate, and probably the most recent of them, cannot be placed after the first century A.D.

The earliest inscription is unquestionably that preserved on the Dhauli rock, dated the tenth or twelfth year after the consecration of Asoka, or about two hundred and fifty years B.C. Colossal statues of Buddha are found in the recesses of the mountains, and form important materials towards an art history of Orissa. The sanctity of such hill-retreats has survived the faith which consecrated them. Long after Buddhism had been driven across the sea, the shrines of another religion, and temples

[22] Dírgha-Tamasá, Anga Banga Kalinga Suhma Pundrákhyam, Váleyam Kshetramajanyata.



Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal. *C.W. Coard, Sc. Surveyor General's Office.*

SERPENT CAVE & ROCK CELLS
(Circ. 300 to 150 B.C.)

of other gods, rose amid these lonely fastnesses.[23] Vishnuvite cenobites, Sivaite ascetics, and aged mystics, who believe that long solitude and penance have freed them from the chains of the body, and raised them above all rituals and creeds, crawl about the hill-sides which the Buddhist monks tenanted 2000 years ago. Indeed, so infectious is the passion for religious retirement in Orissa, that even the Musalmán invaders yielded to the spell, and have left a mosque on a solitary crag 2500 feet above the world of labour and strife below.[24]

Any sketch, however brief, of Buddhism would be out of place in this work. The history of a religion which formed the mightiest protest against the caste-debasement of man, and against the materializing of God, known to the ancient world, and which at this moment is the living belief of one-third of the human race,[25] belongs to a region of scholarship into which a district annalist has no entry. In a subsequent volume, when treating of Behar, the birth-place of the creed, I hope to be able to supply some local colouring-matter to European historians of Buddhism. At present I have only to deal with it as one of the two first forms of human existence,

[23] A detailed account of some of the most important, and, so far as I know, hitherto undescribed, of these shrine-hills, will be found in my Statistical Account of Cattack. Stirling gives an admirable description of Khandgiri and Udayagiri in As. Res. vol. xv. Lieut. M. Kittoe contributes some valuable notes to the Journal of the As. Society, vols. vi. and vii. Mr. James Fergusson may be with advantage consulted in his 'History of Architecture,' vol. ii., and in the introductory essay to his 'Tree and Serpent Worship.' Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra's forthcoming work on the Archæology of Orissa, will contain everything that could be desired by the antiquarian or the student of art history. In the following pages, I have, therefore, confined myself to a general description, and omitted, with one exception, the measurements, and other technical notes which I made on the spot.

[24] Assiagiri.

[25] 31·2 per cent., or a little over the number of Christians, who form 30·7. Max Müller's Lecture on the Vedas. Chips. i. 23. Ed. 1867.

which we can indistinctly discern on the horizon of Orissa history; a form which continued to flourish in that province until the tenth century A.D., and which has left its impress upon the religious beliefs and customs of the people at this hour.

The Buddhist hermits of Orissa seem at first to have held a position somewhat analogous to that of the missionaries who first taught Christianity to the wild tribes of Prussia. Like them, they started from the centre of their faith, after it had attained to stately proportions, and had subdued the more civilised parts of the continent to its influences. Like them also, they seem to have carried with them a love of the beautiful in God's works as well as in their conceptions of His being, which led them to fix their abodes in the most exquisite retreats of nature. Their principal settlement was at Khandgiri, nearly half-way between Purí and Cattack, and about twelve miles to the west of the present high road. Two sandstone hills[26] rise abruptly out of the jungle, separated by a narrow gorge, one end of which is enclosed by a low ridge that connects the cliffs, while the other extremity is screened by a noble banyan-tree, and groves of fruit-bearing mangoes. Massive slabs of laterite once formed a paved path across the ravine, and rose in flights of stairs up either hill. The peaks are a rabbit-warren of caves and temples cut out of the rock. The oldest of them consist of a single cell, scarcely larger than a dog's kennel. Several are shaped into strange distorted resemblances of animals. One has from time immemorial been known as the Snake Cave, another as the Elephant Cave, a third as the Tiger Cave. The last stands out from the rock in the form of a

[26] Khandgiri and Udayagiri.



TIGER CAVE, UDAYAGIRI.
(Circ. 300 B.C.)

monstrous wild beast's jaw, with nose and eyes above, and the teeth overhanging the entrance to the cell. Others are more elaborate, and contain several chambers supported by pillars, and shaded from the sun by a verandah in front. Sculptures of the Hindu deities are carved in relief upon the walls, or on slabs of chlorite fixed into the sandstone. These figures, however, belong to a comparatively recent date, and with the exception of a few worn and blunted representations of the sacred tree of Buddha, the oldest of them cannot be placed before 600 A.D.

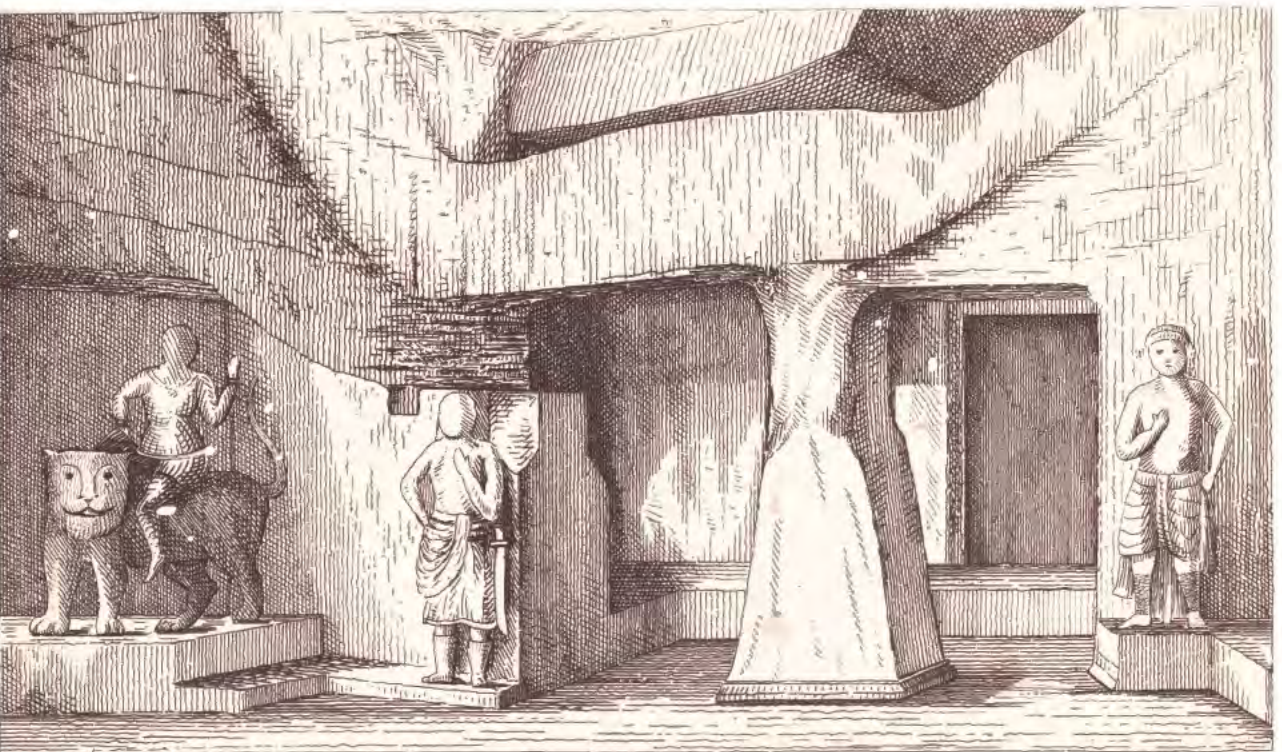
A little temple of the Jains, the religious descendants of the Buddhists, now crowns the top of the western hill. It stands upon a masonry platform, beneath which the whole country spreads in a varied panorama. A belt of woodland hems in the sacred mounts on all sides; but on the south it soon gives place to rice-fields, variegated by promontories of the Khurdhá Hills, which jut out darkly on the bright green plains. On the west, the jungle ascends by rolling undulations, culminating in scattered ridges and peaks. On the north, the unbroken forest spreads far to right and left, till it ends in an horizon of lofty mountains on the other side of the Mahánadí. To the eastward, at a distance of five miles, the great Tower sacred to Siva raises its black head above an expanse of mango groves, with a thousand lesser shrines swarming around its base. I saw no priest in the temple at the top; only an empty vestibule, and an empty sanctuary with a high altar, which is decorated with flowers at stated festivals, when trains of devotees defile through the jungle, and worship with a curious mixture of modern superstition and antique rites.[27] The stillness was only

[27] The temple is dedicated to Paresnáth, but a Bráhman priest from Bhuvaneswar comes over to officiate.

broken by the cooing of doves, and the occasional whirr of a hawk. At intervals, the tinkling of wooden buffalo-bells rose from the forest below, and more rarely a faint cock-crow from some distant hamlet. The slopes and precipices were one glory of laurel-like foliage and bright flowers, and the February sun shone down in its calmest and brightest beauty upon all.

These sandstone hills in Orissa exhibit what are believed to be the very earliest memorials of Buddhistic life. The small single cells cut in the inaccessible precipices, utterly destitute of ornament, and crumbling from long exposure to the air, represent the first human dwellings yet discovered in India. The most recent date which, so far as I know, has been assigned to them is 200 B.C.[28] But an admirable native scholar places even the more elaborate of the adjoining chambered monasteries in the third century before Christ. The single cell caves of Orissa are certainly very much older than anything I saw in Bombay; so much older, indeed, as to belong to an entirely different period. They are holes rather than habitations, and do not even exhibit those traces of primitive carpentry architecture which the earliest of the western specimens disclose. Some of them are so old that the face of the rock has fallen down, and left the caves in ruins. The men who, year after year, crouched in these holes, and cramped their limbs within their narrow limits, must have been supported by a great religious earnestness, little known to the Buddhist priests of later times. Such cells, however, soon give place to more comfortable excavations, shaded by pillared verandahs, and lighted by several doors. These appear to have been intended for the religious

[28] Fergusson's Hist. Architecture, ii. 493. Ed. 1867.



Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal.

ANCIENT FIGURES IN BOOTS & GREAVES

Cut out of the rock (circ. 200 B.C.)

meetings of the brotherhood. Some of them are very roomy, and have apartments at either end, probably for the spiritual heads of the community; small, indeed, when compared with the temple chambers, but greatly more commodious than the primitive single cells.

The temples in their turn are succeeded by still more elaborate excavations. Of these, the most important is a two-storied Monastery known as the Queen's Palace.[29] It consists of two rows of cells, one above the other, shaded by pillared verandahs, with a court-yard cut out of the hill-side. Two stalwart figures, in shirts of mail down to the knees, stand forth from the wall as guards. One of them wears boots half-way up to the knee; the other seems to have on greaves, the feet being naked, but the legs encased in armour. Whoever excavated this and the neighbouring monasteries, had very much more advanced ideas of comfort than the ancient hermits who cut out the first holes in the rock above. The court-yard opens towards the south, and is lined on the other three sides with rows of chambers. On the right and left appear to be the cooking-room and common dining-hall. The verandahs are commodious, and the rock brackets, which extend from the pillars to support the intervening roof, are finely sculptured. The favourite form of ornamentation in Orissa is one common alike to European and Indian art; the curve of the brackets being skilfully taken advantage of to represent the swelling bosoms and delicately retreating heads of beautiful women. The upper story contains four large cells, each fourteen feet long by seven broad, and three feet nine inches high. The verandah outside is about sixty feet long by ten broad, and seven in height. Each cell

[29] The Rání-núr.

has two doors, and at either end is a rock lion; by no means the conventional monster of the Hindu temples of the twelfth century A.D., but done with some spirit and fidelity, as if the artist had really seen the animal he tried to depict.

Altogether the Queen's Palace represents a very different phase of Buddhism from that which consigned its votaries to uncomfortable holes in rocks. The great Bombay Monastery at Kárli prefers the splendour of its temple to the comfort of the devotees. I could not but contrast its magnificent pillared hall with the adjoining narrow cells in which the monks passed their lives. But the Queen's Palace in Orissa belongs neither to the period in which the Buddhist missionaries and hermits devoted themselves to meditation in solitary holes of the rock, nor to that other period when the religion had built for itself a stately system of worship, and had gathered its devotees into religious houses. It must have been excavated at a time when the creed had acclimatized itself to the air of royal ante-chambers, and represents fashionable Buddhism not many centuries before its fall.

The upper verandah of the Queen's Monastery is adorned with a sculptured biography of its founder. The first tableau, worn almost level with the rock, seems to represent the sending of presents which preceded the matrimonial alliances of the ancient dynasties of India. A running figure stands dimly out, apparently carrying a tray of fruit. The second appears to be the arrival of the suitor. It delineates the meeting of the elephants, and a number of confused human forms, one of whom rides on a lion. From the third tableau the biography becomes more distinct. It represents the



TWO CELLED BUDDHIST CAVE

(Circ. 250 B.C.)

courtship. The prince is introduced by an old lady to the princess, who sits cross-legged on a high seat, with her eyes averted, and her arms round the neck of one of her maidens below. The fourth is the fight. The prince and princess, each armed with swords and oblong shields, engage in combat. The fifth is the abduction, depicting the princess defeated and carried off in the prince's arms, her sword lost, but her shield still grasped in her hand. The prince holds his sword drawn, and is amply clothed. The princess is scantily draped, with her hair done up in a perpendicular chignon, rising from the top of her head, and a long tress falling over her bosom to her waist. She wears heavy anklets. The sixth is the hunt. A tree forms the centre of the piece, on one side of which the prince and princess are shooting at a bounding antelope; while a led horse stands near, and attendants armed with clubs. The prince draws his bow in the perpendicular fashion of the English archers. It is about two-thirds his own height. A lady looks down upon the chase from the tree. A court scene follows, in which the prince sits on a throne on the left, with attendants holding fans on either side. Dancing girls and musicians are grouped in front, and the princess appears on a throne on the extreme right. The eighth and ninth tableaux are effaced. Three scenes of dalliance between the prince and the princess follow, and the series in the upper story ends in a mysterious running figure with a snake twisted round him. The lower verandah exhibits the sequel. A convent scene discloses the princess retired from the vanities of life, sitting at her cell door in the upper story of a sculptured monastery, with her ladies, also turned ascetics, sitting at separate doors in the lower one. The remaining tableaux, four in

number, represent the prince, princess, and courtiers as hermits, with their hands on their breasts in an attitude of abstraction, freed from human passion, indeed even from the necessity of religious observances, and wrapt in contemplation of the Deity.

Throughout, the prince is generally fully dressed, with a cotton garment falling from his girdle, but leaving the leg bare from the knee. The lady wears a head-dress something like the Prince of Wales' feathers, with her hair done up in a towering chignon, such as was fashionable in 1868. A scroll of birds and beasts and leaves runs the whole way along. The battle and hunting scenes are given with much spirit, the animals being very different from the conventional creatures of modern Hindu art.

Higher up the hill, and facing the south, is a smaller monastery or temple, known as the Ganesa Cave, from a figure of the elephant-headed god inside—evidently a work of much later date than the original cells. The pillared verandah exhibits the exquisite bracket sculptures already mentioned. The inside wall of the verandah is adorned with a series of tableaux, that seem to give a different version of the same story which is told on the frieze of the Queen's Monastery. In the first scene, a lady watches over her husband, who is sleeping under the sacred Buddhist tree. In the second, a suitor makes advances to the lady, who turns her head away. He has seized one hand, and she seems to be in the act of running from him, with her other arm thrown up as if crying for help. The third is the battle. The husband and the lover (or perhaps it is the lady and her suitor) fight with oblong shields and swords. In the fourth, the warrior carries off the vanquished princess in his arms. In the fifth, the



THE ORISSA HELEN.

SCULPTURED FRIEZE OF A ROCK MONASTERY.

successful paramour is flying on an elephant, pursued by soldiers in heavy kilts. The prince draws his bow in the English perpendicular fashion, as in the previous series, and a soldier has cut off the head of one of the pursuers. The sixth is the home-coming. The elephant kneels under a tree, the riders have dismounted, and the lady hangs down her head, as if in shame or sorrow. The seventh represents their home-life. The lady stands with her hand on the prince's shoulder, while he has one arm round her waist, and in the other hand grasps his bow. The series ends in a scene of dalliance.

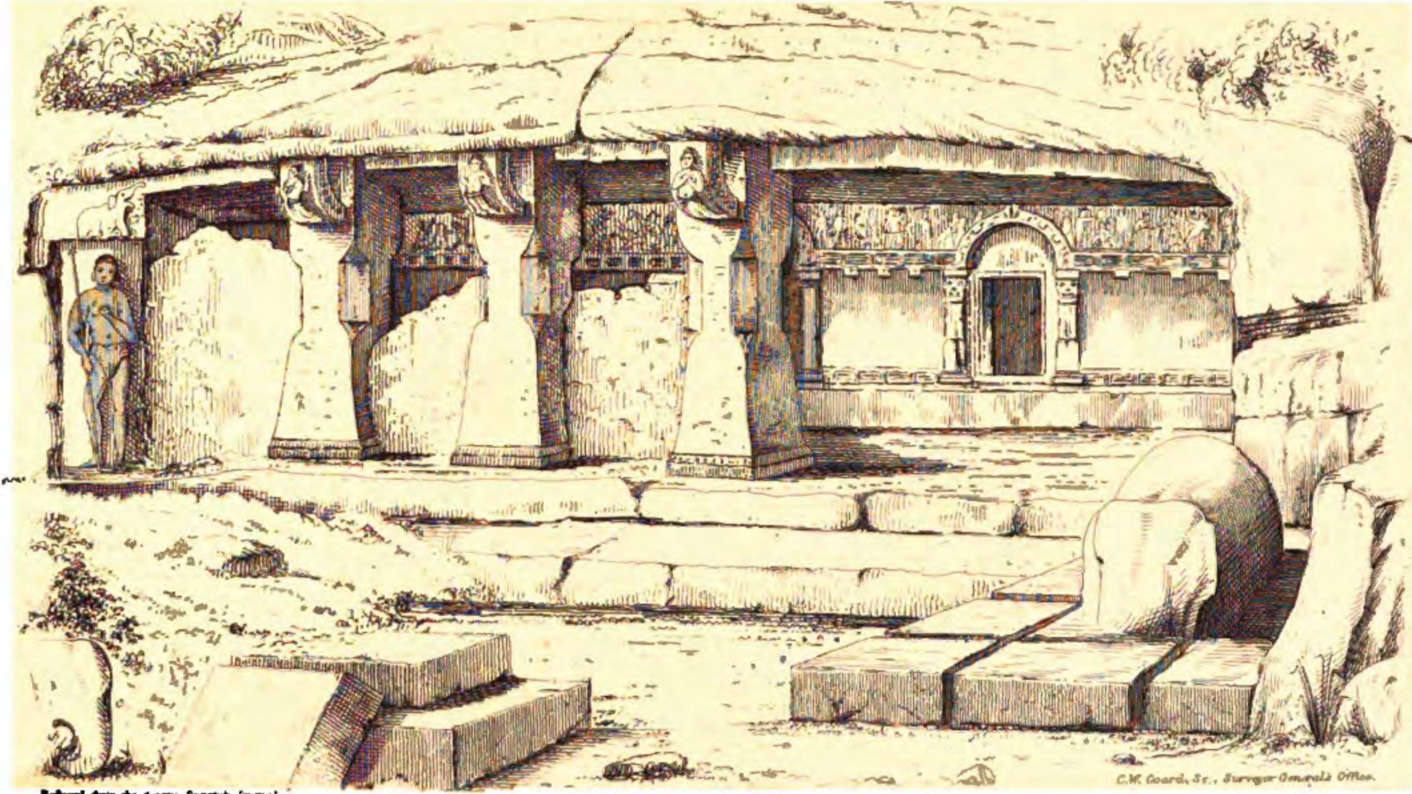
The Vishnuvite ascetic, who lives in a little cottage at the foot of the hill, as a matter of course declared that the tableaux represent the abduction of Sitá, and the expedition of Ráma to Ceylon. But whatever may be the story which these sculptures record, it is certain that they do not take their scenery or their heroine from the Rámáyana. The whole plot is reversed. The epic relates how a Sanskrit princess was carried off by the demon King of Ceylon, but it does so only as a means of introducing the conquest and slaughter of the cannibal monarch, and the return of the lady in triumph. The abduction, in short, was a failure. In this rock biography, on the other hand, the rape is a perfect success, and Helen and Paris live happily together ever afterwards. But, indeed, the details of the story preclude the possibility of its being derived from the Rámáyana. In the one case the suitor comes in the form of an aged ascetic, and accomplishes his crime by treachery; in the other he appears as a valiant warrior, who fights for his princess and wins her.[30] After the abduction, the Rámáyana re-

[30] The original Rámáyana, which still maintains its hold on the popular affections, speaks of no encounter between Sitá and Rávana; but a later

presents the ravisher as a ten-headed or hundred-headed monster, who carries the lady in a magical car through the air, and is regarded by her with abhorrence. In the sculptured biography the prince and princess escape on an elephant, hotly pursued. Subsequently he wins the affections of the lady, and after a life of courtly pleasures and sylvan amusements, both parties retire from the pomps of this world, and end their days in a Buddhist convent. The Rámáyana, on the other hand, closes with a frightful domestic tragedy, and the hero drowns himself in despair.

It is impossible to fix the date of the Queen's Monastery with anything like historical precision. But we can come near enough to it for all practical purposes. The ancient annals of Orissa divide themselves into three long chapters, one of which is wholly obliterated by time, and the other two are more or less effaced. The first begins with the legendary Aryan conquest, when one of the five sons of the northern sage hived forth from the Sanskrit pale and founded the kingdom of Kalinga, probably at least eight centuries before Christ. The second dates from the death of Buddha, 543 B.C., and consists of Ceylonese legends of the sacred tooth, and a more or less mythical account of the first settlements of Buddhism in Orissa. The third opens with the publication of Asoka's edicts, about 250 B.C., and closes with the accession of the Long-haired or Lion Dynasty, in A.D. 474. With regard to the first era we know

version thinks it more moral to represent her as resisting the ravisher by force of arms. This is the Asitá or Satakandha Rámáyana, which increases Rávana's heads from ten to a hundred; and which, with all the licence of the modern Hindu imagination, exaggerates the horror of his appearance, thereby making him still more unlike the hero of the sculptured biography. The Asitá Rámáyana is comparatively little known among the people, at any rate in Lower Bengal.



Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal.

C.W. Coard, Sc., Surveyor General's Office.

GANESH GARBHA CAVE

nothing, and the two latter will be fully treated of further on. At present it will suffice to say that the single cell caves seem to belong to the second, or from 543 to 250 B.C., and the Queen's Monastery to the third. It represents a period when Buddhism had become the established religion of the country, and had at its disposal the wealth of kings and queens. On the other hand, the ablest Bengal antiquarian now living pronounces its architectural style, and the inscription which adjoins it, to be anterior to the Christian era.[81] It may, therefore, be placed between 250 and 100 B.C., to which period the other elaborate excavations also belong.

The sandstone caves, as a whole, represent ten centuries of human existence (500 B.C. to 500 A.D.). They form the relics of three distinct stages through which Buddhism passed; from the period when its first missionaries started out on their perilous work to the time when, full-blown and victorious, it had become the religion of queens and kings. The first was the Ascetic Age, and is represented by the single sandstone cells, scarcely bigger than the lair of a wild beast, and almost as inaccessible. The second, or Ceremonial Age, has left its relics in the pillared temples where the brethren were wont to meet, with commodious chambers for the spiritual heads attached to them. The third, or Fashionable Age of Buddhism, achieved its highest, although not its latest effort, in the two-storied Queen's Palace, built at a time when the whole resources of a kingdom were at the disposal of the religious fancies of royalty; and when art, having lost its monastic tone, had

[81] Babu Rájendra Lála Mitra has so thoroughly gone into the subject of the Orissa Caves, and his work is expected so shortly, that I content myself with acknowledging my obligations to him, without venturing to anticipate his own exposition of the evidence on which this conclusion is based.

learned to turn even a convent's walls into a record of human pomp.

These great changes in the status of Buddhism represent long periods of time. Indian literature is silent with regard to the cave-dwellers of Orissa, and gives us no clue to their origin, or to the era of their first settlements. But the sacred books of Ceylon supply the defect.[32] The story takes us back to the time when Orissa formed part of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, and when an emperor of the Lunar race still reigned in Northern Hindustán. It relates how, immediately after the obsequies of Buddha in 543 B.C., one of his disciples was commanded to carry the Sacred Tooth to Kalinga. If the Sanskrit name of the monarch who received it[33] could be trusted, it would indicate that the Orissa tribes had already been subjected to Aryan rule. He worshipped the sacred relic with great pomp, and appointed a splendid festival in its honour. But the disputes between Bráhmans and Buddhists which convulsed Northern India, reached even these remote shores. Some of the Orissa princes devoutly adored the tooth; others rejected it; and some returned as converts to its miraculous powers. One of the last, with the intolerance of a proselyte, drove out the Bráhmans, and proclaimed that his subjects should worship according to the royal command. The Bráhmans carried their complaints to the Sanskrit King in the north, who is represented as holding a sort of imperial rule over all India, while Orissa appears as a subordinate, although not a subject, kingdom. The Emperor sent one of his tributary

[32] Dáthádhátawanso, chaps. ii. iii. and iv.; Journal of As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 860 *et seq.* Calc. 1837.
[33] Brahmadatta.

princes to subdue the Orissa Buddhist, and to bring 'the piece of human bone.' The invader, however, was converted at the sight of the sacred tooth, and the two princes proceeded with it to the imperial court. There the Emperor in great wrath commanded his priests to destroy it. It was thrown into the fire; beaten on an anvil; trampled into the earth by elephants; plunged into the city sewers. But in vain. It emerged from the flames as a lustrous flower; it sunk into the anvil and defied the blows of the mallet; it rose out of the earth as a lotus with pistils of silver and petals of gold; and the sewer instantly turned into a celestial lake, covered with lilies, and vocal with honey-bees. The Bráhman priests tried every art of destruction, and a Vishnuvite sage makes himself especially conspicuous in his efforts to counteract the influence of these failures on the royal mind. At length the Emperor proclaims himself a convert to Buddhism, and his whole people receive 'the piece of human bone' as a precious relic of the god.

Orissa next emerges into history about three centuries later, or 250 years B.C. Since that year a rocky eminence on the bank of the Dayá River, about a day's journey to the south of the Queen's Monastery, has borne an inscription long illegible to the Hindus, but at last deciphered by English scholarship.[84] It consists of eleven

[84] It is to be regretted that the invaluable inscriptions contained in the Asiatic Researches, and Journals of the various societies, have not been reprinted in a collected form. Mr. Prinsep's decipherings are the glory of Anglo-Indian scholarship. I have implicitly followed his readings, with such lights, however, as Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde throw upon them. The four volumes of the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1837–1838 are a mine of wealth as regards the history of Orissa. The following are the principal inscriptions which I have collected from Mr. Prinsep's writings for this part of my work:—

I. The Asoka Edicts on the Dhauli Rock, 250 B.C.
II. The Khandgiri Inscription, representing a later Buddhism, 100 A.D. (?)

edicts promulgated by Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of Northern India, with two others apparently added by the local Prince of Orissa. The eleven are almost identical with similar inscriptions published throughout the length and breadth of India, from the southern slopes of the Himálayas to the central Vindhya range, and from Gujrát on the west to the shores of the Bay of Bengal.[35] During 2000 years these graven rocks have proclaimed the unity of God, and the religious equality of man amid an idolatrous and caste-ridden race. But for at least fourteen centuries they have done so in an unknown character, and almost in an unknown tongue. They have at length been made to speak and to disclose that ancient *Civitas Dei*, by which holy men in the East struggled to reclaim the world centuries before the rise of the Christian republic.

They start with prohibiting the shedding of animal blood, whether for food or for religious sacrifices; and incidentally give a little picture of the imperial housekeeping. Formerly, they say, in the great dining-hall and temple of the heaven-beloved King, many hundred thousand animals were slain for meat. They proceed to describe an organized system of medical aid throughout the whole kingdom, and in the conquered provinces as far south as Ceylon. This institution provided advice and

III. The Buddhist Merchants' Inscription near Aswastama.
IV. The Udayagiri Inscriptions, also Buddhistic.
V. The first Sivaite Inscription, A.D. 617.
VI. The first Jagannáth Inscription, circ. tenth century A.D.
VII. The Gangá Vansa Inscription, A.D. 1132.
VIII. The Bhuvaneswara Slab, Vishnuvite, circ. eleventh century A.D.
IX. Second Sivaite Inscription, twelfth century A.D.

[35] *Vide* Asiatic Society's Journal for 1838, vol. vii. part i. art. vii. p. 219 to 282, and vol. vii. p. 156 to 167. The eleven Edicts of the Cattack Inscription are word for word the same as eleven of the fourteen Edicts at Girnar in Gujrát.

drugs for all living creatures; for the brute creation not less than for men.[36] Wells were also to be dug, and trees to be planted along the roads, for the refreshment of travellers and beasts of burden. They then proclaim a public humiliation every fifth year, and enumerate the cardinal virtues of the Buddhistic code,—obedience to parents; charity to all men, especially to the priests; the non-sacrifice of animals, and reverence for the vital principle in man or brute; dutiful service to the spiritual guide and the propagation of the true creed. The king appoints missionaries to go forth to the utmost ends of the earth and 'intermingle with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment of the faith and for the increase of religion. They shall mix with Bráhmans and beggars, with the poor and the rich, to bring them unto the righteousness which passeth knowledge.' These are the exact words used. They shall deliver 'those bound in the fetters of sin' by declaring the truths that procure the 'final emancipation which is beyond understanding.' 'Among the terrible and the powerful shall they be mixed, both here and in foreign countries; in every town and among all the kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood,—everywhere!'

The edicts then go on to regulate the household life of the people. They speak of a system of moral surveillance greatly more searching than that of the *censor morum* in the primitive age of Rome, or than the domestic jurisdiction exercised by the elders in Puritan Massachusetts, or by the kirk-session in Presbyterian Scotland. They remind one of the minute supervision of Mr. Ruskin's ideal church. Overseers watched over each stage of the citizen's life, from the cradle to the

[36] This Edict is given separately on page 159 of vol. vii. Journ. As. Soc.

grave. No circumstance, however private, escaped their scrutiny. A staff of inspectors was appointed 'for every season,—for behaviour during meals, in domestic relations, in the nursery, in conversation, and on the bed of death.' Care was taken, however, that these overseers should not degenerate into spies; and the king solemnly declares that he has instituted the system not for his own gain (through fines or penalties), but for the eternal salvation of his people. The Greeks who travelled in the train of Alexander to India bear witness to the good faith in which the inspectors did their work. Arrian ranks them as the sixth class in the Indian commonwealth, and calls them by the same name which the early Christians applied to their spiritual overseers, and which now survives in the title of Bishop. 'The Episcopi,' says Arrian, 'take cognizance of whatever happens, whether in the town or the country, and report it to the king where the Indians live under regal rule, and to the magistrates where they govern themselves. They are forbidden to carry unfounded tales, nor indeed have any of the Indians been taxed with the vice of falsehood.'[87]

The next tablet consists of a prayer for the spread of the faith, 'and that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind.' But it contains nothing like a hint at religious persecution, and speaks of 'every diversity of opinion' being blended together 'in undistinguishing charity.' The king then contrasts the hunts and feasts and gaming parties of former sovereigns with the more spiritual enjoyments which he has inculcated on his subjects. The world, he says, seeks pleasure in many ways,—in marriage, in offspring, and 'in foreign travel;' but true happiness is to be found in

[87] Indicæ, cap. xii.

virtue alone, in 'kindness to dependants, reverence to spiritual teachers, humanity to animals, alms-giving to the priests.'

Such was the moral code of Buddhistic India two hundred and fifty years before Christ. But there remain two other tablets, distinct from the general series of Asoka's Edicts, and which seem to lay down local laws of the sovereign.[38] They partake of a political character, and begin by proclaiming the penalties for murder. Capital punishments were unknown, but the man-slayer expiated his crime in perpetual imprisonment. Much stress is laid upon the individual will of the monarch, who appears to enjoy that despotic authority which is less characteristic of ancient than of mediæval India. 'This I publicly proclaim,' he says, 'and I will carry it into effect, for my supreme will is irresistible.' They soon, however, glide into the religious admonitions characteristic of Buddhism. 'Much longing after the things of this life is a disobedience. Not less so is the laborious ambition of dominion in a prince. Confess and believe in God, who is the worthy object of obedience. Strive ye to obtain this inestimable treasure.'

We have, therefore, a picture of an ancient kingdom governed by a code which elevates the moral duties of man into legal obligations, a kingdom which professedly took its religion from a superior monarch in the north, and which submissively published his edicts, but which in its turn was ruled by a prince who combined a

[38] Devánampriya, the 'Beloved of the Gods,' in the city of Tosali. For a disquisition as to the geographical identity of this place, see Journal As. Soc. vii. 449 *et seq.* It appears to be either near the Vindhya range, or 'in the Nága country' (possibly Nágpur?). But Devanámpriya is also the name of the great Buddhist proselytizing monarch of Ceylon in the Páli records.

paternal oversight over the households of his people, with the authority of an absolute monarch. Such was Orissa in the third century before Christ. We catch a glimpse at the patriarchal age in the very act of dissolving into the despotic era which followed.

The next inscription is some hundreds of years later, but so far as the evidence goes to show, not much, if at all subsequent to the beginning of our own era. The abrupt introductory clause of Asoka's Edicts has developed into a regular invocation, and the grammatical inflexions hold an intermediate place between the very ancient and the mediæval inscriptions. In a short biography of one of the kings of Kalinga,[39] it relates how, after a youth passed in manly sports, and matured by nine years' study, he ascended the throne in his twenty-fourth year. The new monarch chose the Bráhmanical faith, but afterwards called together 'the Buddhist priests of Eastern Kalinga who had settled there under the ancient kings.' These he established in a college, and learned from them 'the sacred law.'[40] He engages in great public works, rebuilds the city walls that had been destroyed by a storm, constructs a reservoir of cool water for the poor, and builds for himself a magnificent palace. Musicians and dancing girls beguile his leisure, but the inscription describes him as 'still inclining to virtue,' amid the delights of youth. He next appears in the character of a warrior, and marries the daughter of a hill prince. Afterwards 'inclining to charity,' he

[39] Named Aira. For an attempt to identify whom, see Journal As. Soc. vi. 1085. In an appendix to this volume, I shall give for the first time a complete list of the Orissa kings, compiled from the temple archives of Jagannáth. But intricate disquisition, with a view to connecting these monarchs with the kings named in the inscription, would be out of place in the text of this work.

[40] 'Vyavasthá.'

converts the spoils of his enemy into alms. Nor is an occasional glimpse wanting of him in his judicial capacity. He imprisons a wicked king in a cavern, and condemns 'the murderer to labour.' At length, 'finding no glory in a country which had been the seat of the ancient princes, and reflecting'—(here a break takes place), he appears to go on pilgrimage, and distributes charities innumerable. Finally, 'he causes to be constructed subterranean chambers and caves containing temples and pillars.'

This and others of the inscriptions prove, in the opinion of the scholar to whom we owe their decipherings, that Kalinga was at that time an emporium of trade. We know from other sources, that shut out as Orissa was from the general polity of India, it boasted of fabrics which it could send as valuable presents to the most civilised monarchs of the interior. So fine was the linen which the Prince of Kalinga sent to the King of Oudh, that a priestess who put on the gauzy fabric in public was accused of appearing naked.[41] The rock inscriptions speak of 'navigation' and 'ship commerce' as forming part of the education of the Prince. Besides the Buddhist port of Tamluk, it could be predicated that the Chilká Lake must have been very much deeper at that remote period than now; and if it were only deep enough at present for ships, it would form one of the finest harbours in the world. Year by year we see the delta pushing itself out into the sea, unconsciously bearing witness to the truth of a long undeciphered inscription, which speaks of caverns that are now fifty miles from the shore as hollowed by the wind and waves, and 'ocean-

[41] Csoma's Analysis of the Dulva. As. Res. xx. 85; Journal As. Soc. vi. 1837.

born.' When, therefore, we hear of its monarch, eighteen hundred years ago, being educated in maritime trade; when we find that it had transactions with Java and the islands of the Indian Archipelago in pre-historic times;[42] when the Chinese traveller of the seventh century speaks of the Chilká as 'a great lake,' the harbour for ships from distant countries; and when we find the factories on the coast of Orissa a favourite resort of the early European traders with Bengal, the chain of evidence is complete. There can be no doubt that Orissa, shut out from the rest of India by forests and mountain ranges, developed relations with countries across the sea. Its misfortune at present is, that while the hilly background still walls it out from the inner continent, its rivers have silted up and isolated it, by their bars and mudbanks, from the rest of the world.

The first local legend of Orissa refers to an invasion from the sea. It is now time to turn from the cave-dwellings and inscriptions of the Buddhists to the Bráhmanical archives of Jagannáth. These curious records consist of piles of palm-leaves neatly cut, and closely written over with a sharp iron pen without ink. Their contents have been three times investigated, and I am inclined to believe that all the really historical matter has now been extracted.[43] We owe the most successful of

[42] See further on, and the Tattwabodhiní Patriká, vol. ii. p. 179. Calcutta, 1769. *Sak.*

[43] The first investigation was made by Mr. Stirling's pandits, and the result is preserved in his admirable description of Orissa in the fifteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches. The second was by Bhabánícharan Bandopádhyáya, author of the Purúshottama Chandriká, the Bengali work from which I have chiefly derived my materials. The third was by Rájendra Lálá Mitra, who inspected the temple archives in 1868, and arranged for their being copied. It is perhaps a matter of regret to scholars rather than to historians, that the priests did not permit the work to go on after the learned antiquarian's departure; and, so far as I am aware, there is at present absolutely no duplicate of these curious memorials (the Mádalá Pánji).

these researches to a learned Calcutta Bráhman, who published an epitome of the palm-leaf writings in Bengali in 1843. He informs us that he spared neither labour nor expense; and as one of the most devoted of the modern worshippers of Jagannáth, he had special opportunities for the work. I cannot withhold my tribute to the conscientious toil to which the work of this admirable scholar bears witness.[44] It contains, however, rather the germs of history than an historical narrative. It furnishes a list of a hundred and seven kings of Orissa from 3101 B.C. to the British accession in 1803 A.D., with the exact dates of their reigns. This list I venture to relegate to an appendix. The names may be very useful to numismatists and decipherers of inscriptions; but they are the milestones of history rather than history itself.

Indeed, the very exactitude of the dates is one of the chief difficulties in using them. For, as already hinted, the early annals of Orissa are marked off by periods rather than by dates, and for many a weary stage without any dates whatever. We know absolutely nothing about Orissa prior to the Buddhistic settlement, except that it was wholly unknown to the writers of the Veda; that it was known only as a wild outlying strip, peopled by barbarians, to the writers of the Epics; that

[44] He entitles his work the 'Purúshottama Chandriká arthát Srí Kshetradhámer Bibaran.' The first twenty-two pages consist of an account of the four Regions of Pilgrimage in Orissa, done from personal observation, and illustrated by passages from the Purúshottama Máhátmya, and the Kapila Sanhitá. The main body of the work is entitled 'Mádalá Panjiká arthát Kaliyug prabartan abadhi, Sri Sri Dháme prati-dibasíya brittánta yáháte likhitahaya táhár nám Mádalá Pánji kahe táhá haité uddhrita.' It is derived from the palm-writings direct, and is fuller and more carefully done than Stirling's excellent sketch. It is now becoming a rare work even in Bengal. The copy I have used belongs to Babu Joykissen Mukarji of Uttarpárá.

at some time previous to Asoka (250 B.C.) it was colonized by Sanskrit-speaking communities; and that the Buddhist legend of 543 B.C. assigns to it a Sanskrit-named king. But such meagre items by no means satisfy the temple chroniclers of Jagannáth. We owe something, however, to their forbearance. They pass over the first three ages of the world in silence. They furnish no details touching the 1,728,000 years when the whole world was virtuous; nor with regard to the 1,296,000 years when three-quarters of it were virtuous; nor even with regard to the 864,000 years when half of it remained virtuous; but good-naturedly start with the commencement of the present era, in which three-fourths of mankind are lapsed in wickedness, or from 3101 years B.C.

During these three thousand years twelve kings reigned in Orissa, averaging a little more than two hundred and fifty years apiece. The first three of them are well known monarchs of the Mahábhárata, and they divided among them no fewer than 1294 years.[45] At whatever period the Aryan settlement took place in Orissa, we may conclude, therefore, that it did not start from Northern India, the seat of these kings, before 1807 B.C. The first king with any pretensions to being a local monarch reigned from 1807 to 1407 B.C. It is only in the time of his successor, however, or between 1407 and 1037 B.C., that we begin to catch any faintest glimpse of Orissa. During this reign the Sanskrit colonists are said to have pushed their way down to the Godávarí River, but it is not till we reach the sixth monarch of the list that we hear of the capital city being founded. This brings us down to between 1037 and

[45] From 3101 to 1807 B.C., according to the Purúshottama Chandriká.

822 B.C., and we may place the foundation of the Aryan sea-coast kingdom of Kalinga within these two dates.

But in whatever century the Sanskrit-speaking race arrived, there can be no question regarding the route by which they travelled. The local legends point to the same conclusion as the inductions of European scholars, and prove that the Aryan colonists marched down the valley of the Ganges, and skirting round Bengal, reached Orissa, and through it the Madras coast.[46] Between 822 B.C. and the Christian era, seven monarchs ruled over Orissa; but being local kings, they have only the meagre allowance of 125 years each.

The last 500 years of this period were those in which Buddhism effected its settlements in Orissa. The Ceylon texts place the advent of the Sacred Tooth in Purí at 543 B.C. They probably antedate this event, however, as European researches now render it doubtful whether the first missionary efforts of Buddhism must not be placed half a century later. But it is a curious coincidence that the temple archives record an invasion from the north between the years 538 and 421 B.C., which is the very period to which the Ceylonese chroniclers assign the Buddhistic conquest of Orissa. The Palm-leaf Record calls the new arrivals Yavanas, a word which is sometimes translated as Mughuls, and sometimes as Greeks. One thing is certain, they came from the north. The next three reigns were disturbed by similar invasions,[47] and as a matter of fact the Buddhist texts of Ceylon, and the Bráhmanical archives of Jagannáth, alike declare that the five centuries before Christ were centuries of northern invasion, and of great con-

[46] Indische Alterthumskunde.

[47] Purúshottama Chandriká, pp. 24, 25.

fusion in Orissa. Successive waves of colonists from the north allowed the country no rest. Buddhism and Bráhmanism in turns claimed the supremacy among the Aryan settlers, but those settlers as a body steadily increased in numbers and in power, and imposed their language and their religion upon the people of the land. Notwithstanding the Ceylon legend which depicts Orissa as the theatre of a great religious revival immediately after the death of Buddha, no local memorials of Buddhism bear witness to its existence before 300 B.C.

Before entering on the Christian era it may be well to say a few words with regard to the tolerant light in which Buddhism appears in these Orissa inscriptions. The popular notion in Europe is that this religion forms a cataclysm in the history of India, a violent and total upheaval which subverted the social relations, and raised the military races and the low-castes by the degradation of the Bráhmans. To a certain extent this is true. But, as on the one hand nothing can be more absolute than the declarations of the royal authority which the Orissa Inscriptions contain, so, on the other, nothing can be more respectful than the manner in which they speak of the priestly classes. They specify Bráhmans by name as objects of profound reverence and of liberality. They strongly assert their claims, and place obedience to the religious guide among the cardinal virtues. Although breathing from first to last the spirit of freedom, and contemplating all races and castes as subjects for the operation of their faith, and as equal heirs to the salvation which they believed that faith to bestow, yet they distinctly recognised the teacher as the superior of the taught; and so far from degrading the Bráhmans, they appear to look on them as peculiarly suited for the high office of spiritual leaders.

Nor do the Orissa Inscriptions make any parade of that monotheism which is popularly regarded as the second distinctive feature of the Buddhistic faith. They proceed from first to last on the assumption that there is but one God. But they do not bring forward this doctrine with any particular prominence. They start from it as an axiom rather than declare it as a dogma. Indeed, the later inscriptions bear witness to the existence of other religions coexisting with Buddhism, and one of them describes the Orissa monarch who engraved it as a 'worshipper of the sun.'[48] Here, too, as elsewhere, the names of the monarchs bear testimony to the ancient religion, and to the tutelary Sanskrit gods. The prince whose life is recorded in the rock inscription of 50 A.D. wavered between the faiths, at one time publicly declaring himself a Bráhmanist, and at another a Buddhist. The inscriptions scattered throughout Upper India prove that the ancient Hindu triad never wholly lost the veneration of the people, and received some casual acknowledgment even from priests and kings during the Buddhistic era.[49]

The one great feature of Buddhism, as interpreted by the Orissa inscriptions, is its intense humanity. It provides alike for the bodily comfort and for the eternal salvation of all whom it can reach. While the Bráhmanical religion kept its consolations for a single race, and even within that race jealously doled out its fragments of spiritual instruction to the different castes, Buddhism cried aloud in tones of earnest remonstrance to the whole Indian world, and covered the rocks with its missionary appeals. Nothing can be more solemn than the commands which it lays upon its followers, to go forth among all races and to all countries, and to preach 'the

[48] Journal As. Soc. vi. p. 1074. [49] *Idem*, vol. iii. of 1834.

righteousness which passeth knowledge.'[50] The Orissa Buddhists found themselves far away from the religious centre of their race, and surrounded by forest tribes and aboriginal superstitions. The mention of these primitive races and 'barbarian countries' had therefore a peculiar significance. They set up no tests of race or of birth. 'Every righteous man,' says one of the Cattack tablets, 'is my true subject. When a man relieves his fellow from the bondage and misery of sin, he releases himself.' Wherever there is religious darkness there shall the truth be preached, 'both here and in foreign lands, in every town, even to the ends of the barbarian countries; and these being themselves absorbed in righteousness, shall become ministers of the faith.'[51]

But this proselytizing spirit bears no trace of Bráhmanical intolerance. I have already quoted the edict in which the king 'ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind,' yet in which he emphatically declares his still greater anxiety that 'every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion, may shine forth blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity.' Throughout the whole I catch no glimpse at anything like compulsory conversion. Indeed, the edicts repel the very idea of such measures, and declare that the truth can be reached only by an inward process,—a process of conviction and not of force.

But the Buddhism of these inscriptions does not confine itself alone to the spiritual side of man's nature. Its strong humanity labours to increase the sum of physical happiness. It cares for the sick, it digs wells

[50] Asoka's Fifth Edict. Cattack version. Journal As. Soc. vii. i. 253.
[51] Fifth Edict. Cattack version.

for the thirsty wayfarer, it plants shady resting groves for man and beast. It jealously guards the life of all created beings, organizes a system of medical relief for diseased animals, and in some respects anticipates that higher Christian humanity which protects the dumb creation against the oppression of man.

It has too often been the practice to speak of the Sanskrit-speaking castes as steeped in an arrogant ethnical isolation, and shut off from the rest of the ancient Indian nations by a great gulf of abhorrence and contempt. But it must be remembered that Buddhism is as typical a religion of these Sanskrit races as the Bráhmanism which went before it, and the Hinduism which succeeded it. The earliest form of Sanskrit faith is the religion of a comparatively small race fighting its way among tribes greatly inferior in civilisation and in spiritual conceptions. The next form is Buddhism, which joins the spirituality of the first stage to an intense humanity, and which, I believe, did more to make India an Aryan continent than all the wars of the epic poems. It is the old religion vitalized by nobler sympathies and built on a broader basis. The third stage is that hybrid of spiritual conceptions, outward superstitions, and inward unbelief, which seems to have germinated almost simultaneously in India and Europe upon the breaking up of the ancient forms of Aryan faith;—that Beast of gold, and iron, and clay which the Indian peoples still worship, and from whose thraldom the advent of Christ rescued the Western world.

It is into this third stage of the Indian religion that we are about to enter. The first Christian century also marks the commencement of the current Indian era,[52]

[52] The Sakábda, called after Sakáditya, brother of Vikramáditya, commenced 77–78 A.D.

which has just reached its 1792nd year (1870 A.D.). It takes its name from the brother of King Vikramáditya the Augustus of Indian literature, to whose reign the exquisite drama of Sakuntalá and the other graceful poems of Kálidása belong. This monarch extended his influence over a great part of India, and the temple annalists claim him as the local King of Orissa as well as the Emperor of Hindustán. With the fratricide which put an end to his life, the heroic age of the Jagannáth chronicles ends. The legends of that period are provincial adaptations from the great Indian epics, but they have just sufficient local truth to show that the two great northern dynasties of Oudh and of Delhi came frequently into collision with the minor kingdoms in the S.E. which their colonists had founded beyond the Aryan pale. Wave after wave of hungry adventurers poured down upon these settlements from the north, and the Orissa sovereigns, according to the Palm-leaf Record, sometimes carried the war into the parent country. Until the third century after Christ the newcomers seem either to have been driven back or to have speedily amalgamated with the previous settlers. But between the years 319 and 323 A.D. came Red-Arm and his forces by way of the sea. How they took possession of the country, and how in their overweening pride they offered battle to, and were overwhelmed in great numbers by, the ocean, I have described in Chapter II. The native prince fled to the jungle, and there died miserably. His titular successor was slain by the invaders, and the latter seem to have retained undisturbed possession of the country till the year 474 A.D.

Who were these invaders whom the sea thus mysteriously threw up on the Orissa shore? The temple archives

call them Yavanas, but this intimation only shifts the difficulty. The Yavanas are themselves one of the great enigmas of Indian history; a race, who, under various modifications of the same word,[53] flit through the whole cycle of Sanskrit literature; whose name has been dug up on long buried copperplate edicts, and deciphered on prehistoric rock inscriptions; and whose traces everywhere confront the local antiquarian—alike in the distant Panjáb valleys, in the temple archives of the Bay of Bengal, in the recesses of the Central Plateau, and in the dynastic records of the extreme south-west of the Peninsula. I propose to put together such fragments of evidence as I possess with regard to this lost people, for it is only by boldly showing the breaks in the chain that an isolated observer can hope the missing links will come to light. The scent often becomes faint, and the chase ends abruptly on the Malabar coast eight hundred years ago; but it yields several distinct, although fugitive, glimpses of a race which has long disappeared from India; which has almost escaped European research; but which has left a great and lasting influence on Indian history, science and art.

The Yavanas first make their appearance in the Epic poems, that is to say, at a period which, although not yet fixed with precision, was probably anterior to the expedition of Alexander in the fourth century B.C.[54]

[53] Yavanas in the Epics and Purânas; *Yonas*, a regular contraction of Yavana, in the Rock Inscriptions (as *lona* for *lavana*, salt, in Prâkrit and Bengali); Javanas and Jabanas in the modern vernaculars.

[54] Lassen thinks that most of the Mahábhárata is older than the political ascendency of Buddhism (i. 489 *et seq.*); Goldstücker argues that Max Muller has not shown that the early portions may not have co-existed with the Sutra period (Pánini, 78); but the Epics are so mixed up with later matter, as to furnish a quiverful of arguments to Roth, and the advocates of a more modern date.

The Epics enumerate them in the list of foreign or non-Aryan races, such as the Sakas or Scythians, and the Pahlavas or Persians, who surrounded the frontiers, or dwelt like the Savars in the interior recesses of India.[55] They are introduced in the typical struggle between the representatives of the Priestly and the Warrior castes for the supremacy in the Aryan polity; but they take part in the strife,[56] not as a component part of the Aryan community, but as a distinctly foreign element produced for the occasion by abnormal and miraculous means. They are nowhere spoken of as a servile, or even as a subject people, but as an external race of warriors who had lapsed into a degraded state, owing to the want of a Bráhman priesthood in their country, and to the consequent extinction of sacred rites.[57] One text, indeed, obscurely separates the Yavanas from the other barbarian nations, and seems to intimate an Aryan descent.[58] But their religious status was precisely that of other frontier races, and of the interior aboriginal tribes.[59] The Vishnu Purána,[60] which, although of much later date, derives its geography to a large extent from the Epics, states that the Yavana country is the western boundary of India.

Up to the fourth century B.C., therefore, the Yavanas were known to Sanskrit literature as a warlike foreign race, classed among the tribes to the west of the Himálayas, differing in their religious system from the Bráhmanical settlers in India; but represented in no abject relation, and even obscurely intimated to have been connected with the Aryan commonwealth by some primitive

[55] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i. 391, 398, 482, etc. Ed. 1868.
[56] Between Vasishthá and Viswámitra.
[57] Mahábhárata, Anusasánapurvan, 2103-4, 2158-9. Texts, i. 482.
[58] Texts, i. 482.
[59] Texts, i. 484.
[60] V. P. ii. 3. 7. Texts, i. 485.

tie which had ceased to exist. At the close of the fourth century Alexander's expedition took place; and after this event, the term Yavana in Indian literature applies unmistakeably to the Greeks. The Sanskrit grammarian of the second century B.C.[61] mentions that 'the Yavanas eat lying down,'—a statement which at once suggests the Asiatic Greeks; and Professor Cowell identifies the Yavanas or Yonas of India with the Yávân of the Hebrews, and the Ionians of Grecian history. It is under the form of Yona[62] that the word occurs in the rock inscriptions; and at this moment a Hindu, when asked to transliterate the root Ἴων into Sanskrit letters, writes Yona, the exact word which we find in the Buddhist Edicts 250 B.C.

How came the name of the Ionian Greeks into Indian literature before the time of Alexander? We know from other sources that the Ionians, being at once the most Asiatic and the most mobile of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor, were often confounded with the whole Greek race. With but two exceptions, they built their towns upon pre-existing settlements of Asiatics, and in many cases received the natives as fellow-residents in the new community. In some instances, indeed, they took no women with them, and intermarried with the people of the land. The wives of the Greek Milesians in primitive times neither ate with their husbands, nor mentioned their husbands' names,[63]—two genuine Asiatic customs preserved in every Hindu household to this hour. The Ionians in a special manner made themselves at home among the Asiatics, moved about in Asia with a power of diffusion all their own, and

[61] Pátanjali, 140–120 B.C. Goldstücker's Pánini, 234, ed. 1861.

[62] See *ante*, note 53.

[63] Grote, ii. 370, ed 1862.

stood forward as the Grecian type to the Eastern world. Psammetichus, the founder of the first historical monarchy in Egypt, consolidated his power by means of Ionian mercenaries from Asia Minor, whom he settled on the eastern branch of the Nile.[64] As the Ionians figure on the horizon of Egyptian history in the seventh century B.C., so a hundred years later they make their appearance on the first establishment of the Persian Empire. Cyrus, at the outset of his operations against the Asiatic Greeks, sent heralds to seek an alliance with the Ionians;[65] and when afterwards subdued, their patriotism projected a Pan-Ionic emigration to Sardinia, which would have left nothing but empty cities and untilled wastes to the conqueror.[66] During half a century they remained a part of the Persian Empire. It was the Ionian revolt from Darius that thoroughly awakened the Athenian spirit of resistance to Persia, and formed the first scene in that glorious drama, in which the curtain drops in the four succeeding acts upon Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Platæa. The Persian camp was crowded with Ionians; to Ionia the Persians retired when driven out of Greece; and it was there that an Ionian rising put a finishing stroke to the Persian fortunes at Mykale. We cease to be surprised, therefore, that the Ionian name was well known to the Persians, and that among them the term Ionians came to apply to the whole Greek race.[67]

Now the ancient Persians, or Pahlavas, were themselves known to the Indians not merely as a neighbouring race. In the sixth century B.C. Darius had sent a

[64] Herodotus, ii. cap. 150, 154. [65] *Id.* i. cap. 76. [66] *Id.* i. cap. 170.
[67] Æschylus, Pers. 562–565, and probably also in the passage beginning at 178.

Persian expedition to the Indus; his generals conquered the adjoining nations; and his fleets frequented the Indian Sea.[68] The Persian Settlements appear to have communicated a knowledge of writing to the natives; and Pánini, who belonged to one of the tribes whom Darius subdued,[69] calls this art 'Yavaníní.' Whether it refers to the Greek or the Cuneiform alphabet is doubtful, but it bears the name of the Ionians; the name which afterwards became identified in Indian literature with the Greeks.[70]

The Yavanas next appear, not as a distant shadowy race beyond the western frontier, but as an allied monarchy conterminous with it, and finally as an armed host, fighting battles and sacking towns in the heart of India. Any uncertainty as to their nationality is removed by the Orissa Rock inscription of Asoka, which speaks of 'Antiochus the Yona (Yavana) King.'[71] The Asoka Edicts belong to the middle of the third century before Christ; and at that precise period Antiochus Theos (261–246 B.C.) was at the height of his fame, and his generals were busy in the Bactrian and Parthian kingdoms. The scenes of Antiochus' personal exploits lay chiefly in Western Asia; and the Asoka Inscriptions with minute historical truth refer to the eastern provinces of his Empire, which alone were subject to Buddhistic influences, as 'the dominion of Antiochus the Yavana monarch, *of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers.*'

[68] Herodotus, iv. 44.

[69] Goldstücker's Pánini, 16. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 422; ii. 112, 113.

[70] The gratitude of Indian students to Prof. Max Muller is not lessened in consequence of a misconception which evoked Prof. Goldstücker's masterly dissertation on Pánini's knowledge of writing, p. 13 to 66.

[71] In the Asoka Inscriptions the name of Antiochus occurs four times,—thrice as Antiyako, and once as Antiyoko; the final *o* being the regular Páli mutation of the Greek masculine nominative in *os*. Prinsep's Essays, Mr. Thomas' edition, ii. 15, 17, and 18.

From the time of Asoka, therefore, 250 B.C., the word Yavana becomes distinctly individualized, and may be safely taken to mean Græco-Bactrian, or some other representative of the Asiatic Greek. The great enterprises of Alexander and Seleucus left a residual element in India,—an element constantly recruited by adventurous bands from the Græco-Bactrian or Parthian kingdoms. To the north of these kingdoms lay the aggressive overflowing tribes of Central Asia; to the south-west the friendly Buddhist potentates of the Ganges. The inevitable migrations southward, which have repeated themselves again and again in Indian history, soon began. In 126 B.C. a fierce Tartar tribe pushed the Greeks out of their northern kingdom of Bactria; and a hundred years later, a Persian host burst down upon their territories in the Panjáb. It was in this Province that the Indian Ionians had established themselves most strongly—that is to say, amid the scenes of Alexander's expedition, and as near as possible to the Græco-Bactrian basis; indeed the great Hindu dramatist specially mentions the Yavanas as thus settled beyond the Indus.[72] It was impossible for the Ionians to hide their nationality in India. The Greek historians supply a list of eight kings, but the coins already discovered raise their number to nineteen, between 256 and 120 B.C., besides the semi-barbaric dynasties.[73] They prove that princes who used the Ionian alphabet, or bore Ionian names, scattered their coinage over the north of India, from the Himálaya to the mouth of the Indus, and from Afghánistán on the west to the river Jamna. The

[72] The Malavi Kágnimitra, ascribed to Kálidása. Prof. Cowell's note to Elphinstone, p. 148, ed. 1866.

[73] James Prinsep's Essays, ii. 173–224, ed. 1858.

Greek voyager of the first century A.D. found such coins near the modern Surat; and as far back as the third century B.C., a Greek presented a pillar to the Buddhist monastery at Kárlí, south-east of Bombay.[74] The name of a city of Gujrát[75] still bears witness to the Yavana occupation of that province. Meanwhile we become more and more distinctly conscious of their presence in the valley of the Ganges. The Sanskrit grammarian of the second century B.C. mentions that 'the Yavanas laid siege to Oudh, the Yavanas besieged the Mádhyamikas.' The latter were a Buddhistic sect, and he cites these occurrences as notorious facts that had occurred some time before, but still as occurrences which the writer might have himself seen.[76] The Sanskrit dramatist best known to English readers brings in an Amazonian guard of 'Yavana women, with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers,' as part of the pomp of the Delhi Court.[77] But from the very first, the Indian king who figures chiefly in Greek history was a Gangetic monarch whose capital lay within Lower Bengal.[78] It was to his Court, in the land of the Eastern people,[79] that the Greek embassy repaired at the close of the fourth century B.C. A generation later, when Asoka succeeded to it, and Buddhism became the

[74] His name was deciphered as Theonikos by Dr. John Wilson, as Xenocrates by Dr. Stevenson; but these readings, as also the date, must be received with caution. Dr. J. Wilson's Essay on the Religious Excavations of Western India, p. 23.

[75] Gunaghar=Yonaghar. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. 795, ed. 1862.

[76] Goldstücker's Pánini, 229 et seq.

[77] Sakuntalá, Act ii. verse 35; Act vi. verse 158. Prof. Monier Williams' edition, 1853.

[78] Chandragupta of Pátaliputra, identified as Patná.

[79] The Prasii, or Parhasii, from Práchí, Sanskrit, east; identified as Magadha or Behar, the kingdom of Asoka.

royal religion, he carved the name of Antiochus the Greek upon the Rock Edicts, which promulgated the national faith.

Through this Buddhist kingdom of Magadha or Behar the Yavanas, or Javanas, found their way into Orissa. The alluvial flats of the Ganges furnished no rocks for inscriptions, and the delta has long ago buried in its slimy accretions any less perishable memorials which they may have left behind. But proceeding southwards, as soon as we next reach a stone country, we come upon their track. I have already alluded to their name in the Orissa Inscription of 250 B.C., and almost the only historical events which the Temple Archives preserve from that remote age are repeated inroads of Yavanas from the north. The Jagannáth Records date their first invasions between 538 and 421 B.C.; probably confounding them with the earlier Buddhist migrations, of which the Ceylon writings furnish independent evidence. Another expedition belongs to the succeeding reign, 421–306 B.C., but the nationality of the invaders is not identified. Between 306 and 57 B.C. the Yavanas seem to have been a constant source of disquiet to the Orissa Princes. Many battles were fought, the invaders were driven back, but again come upon the scene, and apparently effect a lodgment. The Temple Archives say that they came from Cabul, Iran, Kashmír, Sindh, and Delhi,—in short, from the Greek settlements beyond the Himálayas, and in the Panjáb, from which the Græco-Bactrians were, during the latter part of this very period, pushed southwards by the Tartar and Persian hordes. But little trust can be placed in the Jagannáth Records when they condescend to minute details. They were compiled many centuries later, and

can only be accepted as representing the popular legends; at a period, however, when local traditions were fresher and infinitely nearer the truth than they are now. The Yavanas were probably the race who predominated in such expeditions, or who led the most memorable of them. But it would be putting an unfair strain on such archives to assume that the term 'Yavana' means exclusively Greek, or even Græco-Bactrian. The word soon acquired a wider meaning, which embraced the whole series of Buddhist invaders from the north.

The period of the Yavana inroads into Orissa is contemporary with the establishment of Buddhism in that Province. We know that Orissa received its Buddhism from the middle valley of the Ganges, which from the time of Megasthenes, at the end of the fourth century before Christ, was brought peculiarly into contact with the Greeks. The authoritative promulgation of the faith in Orissa bears upon its face the name of the Greek or Yavana King Antiochus. Amid the series of Yavana invasions which followed, Buddhism effected its permanent settlement, and constructed its lasting memorials in the Province. From the middle of the first century before Christ till 319 A.D. the Palm-leaf writings yield no materials for the history of Orissa; but between 319 and 323 A.D. the last great inroad of Yavanas took place, and for 146 years their supremacy was complete. It seems probable that this long silence on the part of the Bráhmanical Records is itself an indication that the intervening centuries had been a period of defeat and degradation to the Bráhmanical faith. It is certain that these centuries were the period during which the Buddhists honeycombed the mountains and excavated the rock monasteries of Orissa. It is also certain, as we shall

presently see, that the final expulsion of the Yavana dynasty from Orissa in 473 A.D. was the signal for the restoration of the Bráhmanical faith under a line of orthodox monarchs.

The very fact of the greatest and most typical Yavana inroad into Orissa having been made by way of the sea, would suggest a doubt as to whether the invaders were ordinary Hindus. We certainly find no precedent in Sanskrit history; and the idea of braving the ocean in armed galleys in order to descend on a Province which could easily be reached by dry land, is repugnant alike to the Hindu genius and the Bráhmanical faith. But it formed an adventure exactly suited to the imagination of the Asiatic Greek. It was Alexander's sail down the Indus reproduced upon the Ganges, with the continuation of Nearchus' exploratory armament along the coast to the west of the river mouth. The memorials of the Yavana kingdom in Central India record a similar voyage, and elephants figure on board ship in both. The same spirit would doubtless tempt the Yavanas—or, as the word is spelt in Orissa, the *Javan*—on more distant expeditions. As a matter of fact the islands of Java and Báli were colonized from the Kalinga or Orissa coast in the first century A.D.;[80] and five hundred years later, an Orissa[81] harbour formed the starting-place for

[80] The Hindu era in Java dates from 74 A.D., according to Prinsep's Tables, 154, ed. 1858; or from 78 A.D., according to Sir Stamford Raffles, ii. 71. The name Kalinga still survives as *Kling* in the Javanese Records, and sometimes refers to the whole of India. Raffles, ii. 73, 87, etc., 4to ed., 1817.

[81] Támralipta, now Tamluk. Fa Hian sailed from it *viâ* Ceylon, and the strict Chinese Buddhist describes Java as full of Bráhmans and heretics. Buddhism and Bráhmanism long co-existed in the parent country Orissa, and doubtless the fluctuations of religious ascendency which characterize the Buddhistic era in India were reproduced in her colonies.

a voyage to the Java Archipelago. It seems probable, therefore, that the Buddhist Javanas of Orissa gave their name, and eventually their creed, to Java, long a stronghold of Buddhism, and that Ionian enterprise has thus left its mark on the remotest islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Iono de Barros and the early voyagers call the Javanese, Jabans or Javans,—the same word, letter for letter, as it is spelt in Orissa, where the vernacular does not distinguish between *b* and *v;* and the name applied not only to Java, but to the surrounding islands.[82] This conjecture obtains a further probability from the fact that Báli, the sacred island of the Javanese, bears the name of the hero in the Indian epic, whose kingdom tradition assigns to Orissa.[83]

But even the secluded shores of Orissa were not destined to afford the Yavanas a permanent resting-place. In 473 A.D. they either moved southwards or were pushed out by a new dynasty,[84] which seems to have been elevated to the supremacy by a religious revival ending in the restoration of the Bráhmanical faith. We next come upon them in the kingdoms immediately to the west and the south of Orissa. Some time in the fifth century, that is to say, at the very period when the Temple Archives represent them as being ousted from Orissa, the Yavanas established a dynasty in the great interior plateau now known as the Central Provinces. The copperplate grant dug up at Seoni, on the high road

[82] Raffles, i., Introd. xxi. 3, etc., where various fanciful derivations for the word will also be found.

[83] Báli, whose territory has also been placed to the south of the Vindhyas, but whom the Uriyás claim as their mythical monarch, while his capital is fixed by the Telugu Palm-leaf MSS. at Vizianagram, within the ancient kingdom of Orissa, and 115 miles south of its present boundary. Taylor's Examination of the Mackenzie MSS. in the Madras College Library, p. 28.

[84] The Kesari, or Lion line, hereafter to be described.

between Northern and Southern India, as illustrated by Dr. Bhau Dájí's re-examination of the Ajantá caves,[85] supplies us with a list of seven Yavana princes who ruled in Central India from the fifth century to about the ninth. The inscriptions relate how they conquered all the surrounding countries from the eastern to the western ocean, and on the north from Broach, where the author of the Periplus found the Greek coins in the first century A.D., to districts within the Madras Presidency.[86] 'We read,' says the able historian whom the Central Provinces has recently produced, 'how these unknown princes shamed the king of heaven by their prosperity; how their beneficence made earth better than elysium; how the world trembled at the march of their elephants, and how the seas were swelled by the tears of the queens whom their conquests had widowed. But of the more humble home affairs, which would at least have given them a sure place in local annals, there is nothing. The kings of the eastern and southern coasts are awed at the progress of the great Karna, and his name makes itself felt even in Kashmír among the Huns; but we hear nothing of the real extent of his petty kingdom, nor of the struggles which he must have maintained with the then rising power of the aboriginal chiefs. The alliances of the family with the reigning princes of name are pompously recorded, and its genealogy is traced back to heroes and

[85] Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, viii. 428; Introduction to the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, by Mr. Charles Grant, C.S., then Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, lv.-lviii., Nagpur 1870.

[86] The following is the list of countries conquered:—Kuntala, in the Adoni or Bellári District of Madras; Avanti (Ujen); Kalinga; Kosala, probably the Kosala north of the Sátpurá range, mentioned in the Mahábhárata; Trikuta; Lata (Broach); and Andhra (Telingána, on the south of the ancient Orissa, and on the north of Madras). Mr Grant's Introduction, lvi.

demi-gods.' One of their viceroys 'crosses the sea with his elephants, and penetrates into supernatural regions; but from the mass of fable which he has accumulated round his name, it cannot even be gathered with certainty when he ruled and where he ruled. Through the froth and false glitter of these inscriptions, all that can really be ascertained is that in the fifth century a race of Yavana origin ruled from the Sátpurá plateau.'[87]

But no sooner does the curtain thus abruptly fall upon the Yavanas in Central India, than we begin to catch glimpses of them to the southward,—glimpses which at once confirm the scanty information supplied by the above inscriptions, and enable us to continue the history of the race. The next kingdom to Orissa down the Madras coast was Andhra, whose capital, Warangul, is still to be found upon the map, about half-way between the Godávarí and Haidrábád. The Andhra kings of this far south dominion alleged that they had sprung in remote times from the Andhra race of the Buddhist kingdom, in the middle valley of the Ganges,[88] to whose court the Greek ambassador had repaired three centuries before Christ, and through which the Yavanas or Ionians subsequently reached Orissa. Such a legend, taken by itself, possesses neither more nor less of historical trustworthiness than would an unsupported tradition deriving the Dorians of the Peloponnesus from the Doric highlands on the north-west of Parnassus. In the latter case, extraneous evidence has raised the bare presumption to an historical fact; and while investigating Bhagalpur District within the limits of the ancient Gangetic kingdom of Magadha, I found a curious confirmation of the Andhra tradition. Between the Haidrábád territory in

[87] Mr. Grant's Introduction, lviii. [88] Magadha. Mackenzie MSS.

Southern India, and Bhagalpur on the banks of the Ganges, all historical or political relationship has for more than a thousand years ceased; yet the same local tradition exists in both places, and a story of the monarchs of Southern India being connected with the Gangetic kingdom found its way into an account drawn up for me by the joint-magistrate of Bhagalpur. But at the beginning of the sixth century of our era we touch more stable ground. About 515 A.D., the chronicles of the Madras coast relate how the existing dynasty in Andhra was overthrown, and succeeded by nine princes of a foreign race called Yavanas,[89] who reigned for 458 years, or till 963 A.D. The period of their supremacy, although marked by religious fluctuations, was in the main Buddhistic; and as in Orissa, their downfall took place amid a great religious revival, ending in the re-establishment of Bráhmanism, and indeed of the very form of Bráhmanism which, as we shall presently see, gained the supremacy upon the expulsion of the Yavanas from Orissa.[90]

These Southern Yavanas reached their height about 782 A.D. In that year they make their appearance in the Tuluva Records on the western shores of the Peninsula. Dr. Buchanan, in his journey along the Malabar coast in 1801, came upon a Bráhman whose ancestors had held the hereditary accountantship of the district since the time of the dynasty which began in 714 A.D. From him the traveller obtained a local chronicle based upon

89 The kingdom of Andhra spread over a shifting extent of country to the south of Kalinga, just as Orissa did upon the north of it.

90 Sivaism. This reformation is popularly identified with Sankaráchárya (an incarnation of Siva in the tenth century), and with the Smárta school of Bráhmans, with regard to whom on the Madras coast, see Mr. Carmichael's District of Vizagapatam, p. 55, etc.; and, more generally, H. H. Wilson's Works, vol. i. pp. 14, 18–28, and 194–206, Röst's edition.

family papers and ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, and giving an account of a line of Yavana princes, who drove out the reigning house in 782 A.D., and kept possession of the kingdom for fifty-four years. They claimed Andhra descent, came from the eastern side of the Peninsula,[91] and were originally of the Jain religion, into which Buddhism had by that time disintegrated. They formed an outlying military settlement of a powerful Yavana kingdom behind them on the north and east; and when they ceased to be able to hold the maritime strip below the mountains on the western coast, they seem to have retired back upon the parent kingdom in the interior plateau. They make their last appearance at Seringapatam.

This brings us to a point even farther south than that assigned by the panegyrical inscriptions of Central India as the limit of the Yavana monarchy. But it is a point which the southern Yavanas reached as a fugitive dynasty, and the scenes of their prosperous rule lay farther to the north. The local annals of the eastern and the western shores of the Peninsula, therefore, leave no doubt as to the substantial truth of Mr. Grant's account of a great Yavana power in the heart of India, which took its rise in the fifth century A.D., about the very time when the Yavanas were expelled from Orissa, and which during the next few hundred years subjugated a large part of Southern India. I have no evidence to show that the Yavanas of the Central Provinces in the

[91] Telingá. The capital of this western dynasty in Southern India was at Anagundi. See Dr. Francis Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Kanara, and Malabar; Madras Reprint of 1870, ii. 278–284. Also, Report on the Kolar District, para. 41; Bangalor Jail Press, 1869. These southern Yavanas are curiously intermingled with the Ballála or Jain dynasties who spread from Vizianagram to Mysore, if not identical with them. Cf. Mr. Carmichael's Vizagapatam; Madras, 1869.

fifth century were the Yavanas who in the same century were expelled from Northern Orissa. But the valley of the Mahánadí afforded an easy route for the Orissa Yavanas' retreat into the Central Provinces, and it still continues to be the high road between these countries. It appears, indeed, that while one branch of the Orissa Yavanas thus fell back on the interior plateau, another was pushed southwards, and formed the nucleus of the Andhra Yavana kingdom, which dates from 515 A.D. Even the Bráhman chronologers, upon the restoration of their faith, had to admit the long-continued supremacy of the alien race. The Vishnu Purána, compiled in the eleventh century, when Hinduism had almost stamped out Buddhism from India, enumerates among the later dynasties who ruled after the breaking up of the ancient orthodox monarchy in Andhra, a line of eight Yavanas. The local traditions which I have brought together, and which have survived in spite of the 900 years of Bráhmanical intolerance and Musalmán anarchy which followed, show that the Yavana power was at its apex in the eighth century; and Colebrooke, quoting a writer of this very period, classifies the non-Hindu languages as four in number, of which the Yavana formed one.[92]

From the tenth century we lose all trustworthy traces of the Ionians in India. The name of Yavana survived, but it ceases to be possible to identify the people so called with the race whom I have now tracked

[92] The four were, Yavana, Párasika, Raumaka, and Barbara, corresponding to (1) Greek or Asiatic Greek, (2) Persian, (3) Latin, and (4) unclassified barbarian tongues. Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, vol. p. 453. The Indian Greeks had probably lost almost all traces of their original language by this time; but, as we shall see, they had imported individual words from it into Hindu science, which, taken along with popular tradition, would lead a careful observer, such as Colebrooke's authority, to identify the Greeks of the Levant with the long isolated Yavanas or Ionians of India.

from the Epic period, in which they were known only as a half-fabulous tribe, dwelling on the western frontier of the habitable world; down through the Alexandrine and Græco-Bactrian eras, to their conquest of Orissa; and thence to the inscriptions of the Central Plateau, and the local annals alike of the western and the eastern shores of Southern India.[93] During the fourteen centuries through which we have pursued the chase, the meaning of the term Yavana underwent several modifications. At first it suggested to the Indian mind nothing more distinct than a warrior race, dwelling in a *terra incognita* in the far west. But for at least twelve centuries, that is, from 250 B.C. to 950 A.D., it had been associated with a long series of invaders from the north (beginning with the Asiatic Greeks), who had ousted the native dynasties and erected Buddhism upon the ruins of the Bráhmanical faith. It had probably been applied in some cases to invaders with no claim to Ionian or Græco-Bactrian descent, but who, like them, *came from the north, and brought in new religious rites.* These were the two crucial characteristics of Yavanas in the Hindu mind, and in the end they led to the transfer of the name to a people more widely separated by race and religion from the Ionians, than the Ionians were from the Hindus.

For the North was again about to send forth a race of invaders bringing with them a new faith, and destined to establish themselves upon the wrecks of native dynasties and native beliefs. The Musalmán invasions of India practically date from the eighth century, when the

[93] It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the Mackenzie MSS. as materials for a history of Southern India. They form a noble collection of Folios in the Asiatic Society's Library at Calcutta, written in a delightfully clear hand, carefully distributed into separate volumes, and affording a most accessible field for research.

Arabs temporarily conquered Sindh. The first years of the eleventh brought the terrible Mahmud Sultan, whose twelve expeditions introduced a new era into Hindustán. From this time it becomes difficult to pronounce as to the race to which the term Yavana applies. At first, indeed, the Musalmán invaders, especially in Southern India, were distinguished from the dynasties of Ionian Yavanas by the more opprobrious epithet of Mlechhas. But as Islam obtained a firmer hold upon the country, this distinction disappeared; and popular speech, preserving the old association of northern invasion and a new creed with the word Yavana, applied it indiscriminately to the ancient Ionians and to the new Musalmáns. Before the Muhammadan power, the heretic and the orthodox dynasties of India alike collapsed, and in a few centuries the ancient Yavanas had ceased to preserve any traces of their nationality. All former differences of race or creed were pulverized in the mortar of Islam, and the word Yavana grew into an exclusive epithet of the Musalmáns. Even in the very localities which had formed the scenes of the typical Yavana kingdoms, the remembrance of the Ionian dynasties faded away, and an Orissa Inscription[94] of 1516 A.D. applies the word distinctively to the Muhammadans. In the modern vernaculars it signifies Arabian, Turkish, or Mughul,[95] but it is now seldom used at all, and colloquial Bengali has long ceased to remember the original Ionic meaning of the word. Aurangzeb is, *par excellence*, the Yavana king.

[94] Cut on the seventh pillar under the terrace on the north side of the pagoda of Sinháchalam, within the modern district of Vizagapatam, part of the ancient territory of Orissa or Kalinga. App. ii. to Mr. Carmichael's Vizagapatam.

[95] H. H. Wilson gives it a wider application, and applies it to both the Muhammadan and European invaders of India; indeed, as a general term for any foreign or barbarous race.

But although the history and the very name of the Greeks in India have thus perished, their influence has survived. They brought with them a spirit of maritime enterprise unknown to the Hindus, and the rudiments of that science without which maritime enterprise is impossible. Scholars have long ago noticed that Sanskrit astronomy contains Greek technical terms. The most learned astronomer among the Bráhmans[96] came of a family belonging to the middle valley of the Ganges, which is pre-eminently associated with the Ionians. He lived in Central India, in the sixth century, at the very period when the Yavana power there approached its height, and the two specialties of his writings are his frequent references to the Yavanas and the use of Greek astronomical terms.[97] Indeed, he derived not only his nomenclature, but several of his doctrines, from Ionian science; and one of his authorities, whom he cites as the Yavana Lord, is believed to be a corruption of the Greek name Speusippus. His commentator briefly characterizes the Yavanas as a race skilled in astrology. This in no way impugns the ability of the Vedic Bráhmans in the twelfth century B.C. to make astronomical observations for their calendar;[97] it only shows that their successors, fifteen hundred years later, borrowed largely from Greek science. The calculation of eras was a specialty of the priesthoods of the ancient world. Besides their fabulous back reckonings of thousands of centuries, the Chaldeans claimed to have an actual observation 1903 years before

[96]. Varáhamihira, born at Ujen A.D. 530, died 587. Sir William Jones makes him flourish in 499 A.D. As. Res. viii. 195. Calc. 1805.

[97] Weber's doubts as to Colebrooke's calculation (Indische Studien, i. 85) must be held to be finally dissipated, and Goldstücker's views (Pánini, 74) established, by the re-examination of the solstitian points by Archdeacon Pratt and Mr. Main (Journal As. Soc. of Bengal for 1862, 49). See also Dr. Haug's Aitreya Bráhmanam, i. 43–47. Bombay, 1863.

Alexander the Great. But without a knowledge of the stars more practical than we have any reason to believe the Hindus acquired for themselves, it would have been perilous to make the long voyage from the Yavana settlements in Orissa to the islands of the Archipelago. The starting-place for such expeditions in the fifth and the seventh centuries was Tamluk, on the Huglí; and the Javanese records show that the original colonists of Java started from the Orissa or Kalinga coast in the first century of our era. Both the Chinese pilgrims visited Tamluk, and found it the starting-place for southern voyages (Fa Hian, 399–414 A.D.; Hiouen Thsang, 629–645 A.D.); and I shall give an account of it in a later part of this chapter. It now lies on the Rúpnáráyan River; but in early times the sea, which is at present sixty miles off, washed its harbour. I accordingly speak of it as situated on the Huglí, which gives a sufficiently correct idea of its ancient position.

Not only, therefore, do the memorials of the Yavana Kingdom, whether in Orissa or in Central India, speak of maritime expeditions on a great scale, but the era of their migrations into Orissa forms the very period when the colonisation of Java from the Indian coast took place. Such enterprises stand out in strong contrast to the land expeditions of Sanskrit literature, which thinks it needful to invent a fabulous bridge in order to convey its armies across the narrow straits to Ceylon. Even without the evidence which I have put together to connect the Yavanas with the Ionians, these voyages would strike one as singularly opposed to the history of the home-loving Indian, and as singularly in accord with the genius of the sea-exploring Greek.

Hindu medicine also acknowledges a debt to the Yavanas. In a Sanskrit treatise, written three hundred years ago,[98] I find mention of a preparation of *Bhǻng*, 'communicated by the Yavanas,' and purporting to be copied from a work by a Yavana author, Muphar. It seems to have been derived from very ancient times, and is described in a good Sanskrit verse, supposed to be written just after the assemblage of the sages in the Himálayas for the purpose of investigating the medicinal substances of nature two million years ago. A Hindu physician, during the past ten centuries, if he had borrowed a remedy from foreigners, would have concealed a fact which would have made him an outcast, and ruined him in his profession. The native practitioners inform me that their Pharmacopœia contains several other Yavana preparations,—for example, one from beef, and another from pork, which are evidently borrowed from a foreign system of medicine, and have to be made up with the greatest secrecy through fear of the Hindus.

The Ionians not only brought fragments of Greek science to India, but they formed the vanguard of that great Reformation which stands out as the most conspicuous fact in the religious history of the pre-Christian world. From the first Buddhist era in Orissa, 250 B.C., till the tenth century A.D., the Yavanas are invariably associated with the nobler faith. Any attempt to launch out upon a general view of the spread of Buddhism in India would be out of place in this work. It must suffice to say, that while from the silent testimony of coins, with which no subsequent ages can tamper, scholars conclude that the Ionian kings in Northern India merged into

[98] Jogámrita Sár, Sanskrit MS. in Bengali character.

Buddhistic dynasties; so in Middle and Southern India, the Yavanas everywhere appear either as the representatives or as the heralds of the reformed religion. While Buddhism continued as Buddhism in India, the Yavanas were typical Buddhists; and when it merged into Jainism, the Yavanas became equally identified with the Jain faith.

Nor should this surprise the careful student of Indian history. We have seen that, from the first, the kingdom with which the Greeks were most intimately connected was the Gangetic monarchy which afterwards formed the focus of Buddhism, and which at length authoritatively promulgated the faith over the whole Indian continent,—a province which to this day bears the name of Behar, literally, the Buddhist Monastery, and retains as its capital the city to which the Greek ambassador repaired three hundred years before Christ. The Greek adventurers in India found themselves in the midst of a great conflict of creeds. On the one side Bráhmanism, with its cast-iron classification, refused the strangers entrance into the respectable castes, and ranked them, both socially and religiously, with the savage aboriginal tribes. The haughty Greek, accustomed to call all non-Hellenic mankind Barbarians, suddenly found himself in the minority among an even more exclusive race than his own, and branded by a far more opprobrious epithet[59] than that which he applied to foreign nations. On the other side, Buddhism opened its arms to the strangers, engraved their names in its edicts, and offered them absolute equality with the triumphant sect. Whatever may have been the process, there can be no doubt as to the result. The Buddhist party attracted to itself the new

[59] Mlechha.

adventurous element, and found in the Yavanas exactly the allies required for the geographical dissemination of its faith. When that dissemination was resolved on, the Indian Buddhists sought formal alliances even with Greek potentates beyond the Himálayas; and a group of treaties with Antiochus Theos, Gonatus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Megas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Macedon, attests their political activity.[100] The Ionians in India were essentially an unsettled race, a people without a home. Their history, so far as we know it, is a succession of military occupations and forcible expulsions,—a history which repeats itself alike in the Græco-Bactrian kingdom beyond the Himálayas, in the Panjáb, in Central India, in Orissa, and in fact till they finally disappear on the extreme south-western shore of the peninsula. They formed a nation of pioneers for ever on the move; the very people to give effect to Asoka's proselytising edicts, which command the Buddhists to go forth and preach the truth 'both here and in foreign lands,' 'even to the uttermost ends of the barbarian countries.'[101]

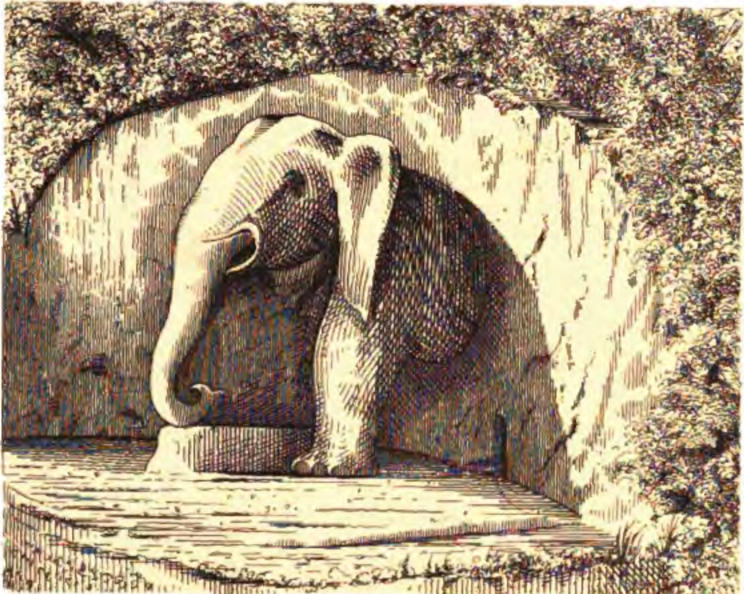
At first sight it may seem that the copious mythology of Bráhmanism would appeal more strongly to the Greek religious sense than the cold theism of Buddha. But the polytheism of India resulted from a process the very opposite of that which gave birth to the bright gods of Greece. The intensely personal genius of the Greeks could not endure an impersonal deity. Indeed, the Greeks,

[100] For the separate authorities, see Fergusson's Hist. Arch. ii. 456, ed. 1867.

[101] Cattack Fifth Tablet, As. Soc. Journal for 1838, vii. 250. I should mention that my quotations from the Journal of the Asiatic Society invariably refer to the original Bengal Society, and not the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

in vividly realizing the individuality, lost sight of the infinity of God. The Indian intellect grasped exclusively at the very attribute which the Hellenic imagination had let slip. The idea of the Infinite sunk into its unruffled calm, like a stone on the bosom of a lake, constantly widening its circles, till they enclosed the whole area of Hindu belief. Instead of the polytheism of Greece, with its host of divine personalities, instinct with human sympathies and with more than human grace, Bráhmanism had arrived at a Pantheism which, in its straining after the Absolute, carelessly acknowledged many things as gods only because it believed God to be co-extensive and co-existent with all things. But, practically, the Buddhism which the Yavanas disseminated, especially in its later form of Jainism, was no cold abstraction, with a single dim figure-piece of a deity in the illimitable background, but a religion enriched by a chronological mythology which mapped out the foretime, a creed prolific of saints, legends, and relics. It required temples, tombs, and monasteries; and the architectural exigencies of Buddhism produced the earliest buildings of which any trace survives in India.

These buildings belong to a totally different style of construction from the Greek orders, but their ornamental figures exhibit a Grecian type. It is long since scholars perplexed the learned world by the discovery of unmistakeably Greek faces and profiles in ancient Buddhist sculptures. Such sculptures enrich almost all the larger museums in India, and their labels briefly describe them as 'Buddhist or Greek.' The purest specimens have been found in the Panjáb, where the Ionians settled in greatest force; and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the debt which the Indian historian or art student owes to General



BUDDHIST ROCK-ELEPHANT.

Cunningham, Prof. Leitner, and Dr. Bellew. In the Lahor collection I saw, among many beautiful pieces, an exquisite little figure of an old blind man feeling his way with a staff, which might have been dug up near the Sette Sale along with the Laocoon. Its subdued pathos, its fidelity to nature, and its living movement dramatically held for the moment in sculptured suspense, are Greek, and nothing but Greek. It is human misfortune, culminated in wandering poverty, age, and blindness—the very curse which Sophocles makes the spurned Teiresias throw back upon the doomed king—

> 'Blind, having seen;
> Poor, having rolled in wealth; he, with a staff
> Feeling his way, to a strange land shall go.'

As we proceed eastward from the Panjáb, the Greek type begins to fade. Purity of outline gives place to lusciousness of form. In the female figures, the artists trust more and more to swelling breasts and towering chignons, and load the neck with constantly accumulating jewels. Nevertheless the Grecian type of countenance long survived in Indian art. It is perfectly unlike the present coarse conventional ideal of sculptured beauty, and may even be traced in the exquisite profiles of the Sun Temple, built in the twelfth century A.D., on the remote Orissa shore.

I hope that, in my anxiety to track the Greeks through India, I have not been led to make the record more complete than the evidence will bear. Missing links constantly break the chain, and in some parts the difficulty of identification becomes insuperable. For it must never be forgotten that the word Yavana is an indeterminate name, and was applied loosely to several sets of invaders who brought in a new religion, and came from

the north.[102] A similar indefiniteness grew up around the word Mughul, which in less than three hundred years acquired four distinct meanings in India.[103] But the facts brought together suffice to connect the Yavanas in a special manner with the Græco-Bactrians of Ionian or semi-Ionian descent, and to prove that, in spite of the oblivion which for centuries has entombed their Indian migrations, the Greeks have exerted a permanent influence upon Hindu religion, science, and art. I now return to Orissa, on whose shores the Yavanas or Ionians, during their fourteen hundred years of wandering throughout India, halted for a season and found rest.

Their expulsion took place in 474 A.D., when a deliverer arose in the person of Yayáti Kesari, the founder of the Long-haired or Lion-line, which ruled Orissa during forty-three generations, or till 1132 A.D. The new dynasty was Bráhmanical rather than Buddhistic from the first, but no evidence exists of any great immediate change in the popular faith. Buddhist hermits still prayed among the rocks, and rich devotees con-

[102] For example, the reference to the Huns of Kashmír in Mr. Charles Grant's Account of the Yavana Kingdom of Central India, suggests the Scythians, or White Huns, who moved into India and down the Bombay coast, *via* Gujrát, about the beginning of our era. Cosmos Indicopleustes, 535 to 547 A.D., states that Northern India was inhabited by a fair-skinned people called the Hunni. They also appear in the Sáran Inscription of the Pál Dynasty, circ. ninth century. Gibbon speaks of the White Huns being pressed down from the north by the Turks. Circ. 545 A.D., cap. 42.

[103] (1.) To the half-heathen, half-Muhammadan hordes who swept down upon India under Chingis Khán, Alá-ud-dín, Muhammad Tughlak, etc. These were true Mughuls. (2.) To Timur and his successors. Timur was a Chagtai Turk, and to this tribe the Indians next applied the term, although Timur and Babar hated the Mughuls, and subverted the kingdom of Chingis Khán. The Muhammadans never called the Emperors of Delhi Mughul kings, but Timúrí or Chagtai kings. (3.) Up to 1550 the wave of migration into India flowed from Túrán; it then set in from Persia, and to the Persian white-skinned foreigners the word was next applied. (4.) As a general term for any Muhammadan, especially a Muhammadan invading force.



tinued to honeycomb the sandstone hills with fresh cave-dwellings. But the creed was wearing itself out, and before the accession of the new dynasty Buddha's Sacred Tooth had been removed from Purí to Ceylon. The ancient Sanskrit gods, who had all along co-existed more or less distinctly with Buddhism, now asserted their supremacy, and came forth arrayed in their new garb as modern Hindu deities. Guided by signs and wonders, the king sought out the image of Jagannáth in the jungles, where it had lain hid during the Yavana occupation, and brought it back to Purí in triumph. Siva and Vishnu, the All-Destroyer and the All-Preserver, began their great auction, bidding against each other for the popular reverence by unscrupulous compromises with human infirmity, and ever ready to pollute their temples in order to fill them with devotees. In a previous chapter I have traced the progress of Vishnu-worship in Orissa, and its culmination in the Jagannáth Festivals of the present day. But in spite of the temple chronicles, which naturally glorify their own god, it is Siva-worship which, during the decay of Buddhism, first enters upon the scene.

For 150 years Buddhism and Siva-worship struggled for the victory. At the end of that period the contest had practically ceased. The reigning monarch was a worshipper of the All-Destroyer, with Bhuvaneswar, the temple city of Siva, as his capital. Year after year the Buddhist hermits, in their cave-dwellings, gazed across the five miles of fruit-bearing groves towards the great tower of Siva, slowly rising in the distance. Of the 7000 shrines which once clustered around it, not more than 500 or 600 now survive. They exhibit every stage of Orissa art, from the rough conceptions of the sixth century, through the exquisite designs and un-

grudging artistic toil of the twelfth, to the hurried and dishonest stucco-like make-believes of Hindu architecture at the present day. These curious relics will soon, I hope, be treated by a scholar who brings to the subject greater knowledge and technical accuracy than I have been able to devote to it.[104] But I cannot altogether pass over the exquisite friezes, scrolls, and carvings which adorn these long-deserted walls.

One of their most ingenious ornamentations was the infinite variety of forms into which the erected hood of the cobra is worked. Sometimes it forms a gloria above a god; sometimes it appears as a canopy bending over like the Prince of Wales' feathers; and instead of the monastic cord of Gothic architecture, scrolls of snakes distend themselves in graceful convolutions, or twist together in stony knots.

Many of the figures were evidently done from the life. Although intended for Hindu sages and deities, they preserve the Buddhist type, and took as their models Buddhist hermits squatted on the ground in an attitude of abstraction. While Sivaism became the religion of royalty on the plains, Buddhism continued to honeycomb the rocks and build temples on the mountainous western frontier.[105] Strange traditions still haunt these last retreats of Orissa theism;[106] and their architectural remains testify with a silent evidence which cannot lie, that Buddhism transmitted its devotional art, with its sculptured representations of monastic attitudes, and its

[104] It is scarcely necessary to refer again to Babu Rájendra Lála Mitra's forthcoming work on Orissa. I am indebted to this gentleman for photographs of Bhuvaneswar. In anticipation of his treatise, I have deemed it unnecessary to give my own measurements and other art notes made on the spot.

[105] In the Tributary States.

[106] See my Statistical Account of Cattack, and Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xxxix.

system of religious ornamentation, to the Sivaite faith which succeeded it. On the Hill of Curse[107] the traveller comes across the ruins of Buddhist shrines and figures, which might have served as models for the early efforts of Sivaite art.[108] The figures have the mild-eyed, abstracted look which still gazes down on this transitory world from the temple walls of Bhuvaneswar; and the ornaments on the ears, arms, wrists, and breasts, present the counterparts of those which the Sivaite builders of the Royal City carved upon the shrines of the All-Destroyer. Besides devotional pieces, the older sculptures at Bhuvaneswar represent long processions of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. The warriors form models of manly grace, and the ladies frequently exhibit that exquisite type of face which the Grecian artists have left behind them alike in Eastern and Western India. One little group of a nymph, with an upright chignon, and a hero with a cross-handed dagger in his waist-belt, might serve as a model of Helen and Paris, but that the warrior is of a more robust type than the graceful Trojan archer.

In another frieze, knights on heavily caparisoned horses meet in deadly combat. Bowmen and swordsmen march behind on foot, very much as in Norman tapestry pieces of the Crusades, while porters and camp-followers, with led horses, straggle after them, and fresh detachments of swordsmen with oblong shields bring up the rear. In the background, courtiers and aged

[107] Náltigiri, about 27 miles north-east of Cattack.

[108] Many of the Buddhist rock-cells were converted into Hindu shrines. Besides the simple mode of transformation practised at Khandgiri by inserting a bas-relief of some Hindu god into the walls of the caves, I saw a very curious composite temple near Naráj, overlooking the Mahánadí, partly of masonry, and partly of the laterite rock.

ministers sit in council, while holy men in an attitude of devotion shed the sanction of religion upon the scene. On most of the temples both sexes have their hair done up in a sort of tower above their heads, but some of the ladies have also a braid falling over the bosom to the waist. In the more modern sculptures the hair is brushed back, and either falls in a braid as above, or is arranged in a fillet behind. The horizontal chignon projecting from the back of the head does not come into fashion until the twelfth century. There are scarcely any indelicate sculptures, but a great deal of honest love-making, which generally finds expression by the gods and warriors chucking the goddesses under the chin.

The Kesari, or Lion-line, was essentially a Siva-worshipping dynasty. Temples to the All-Destroyer formed the great public works of the six centuries during which it ruled Orissa. Their founder began the lofty fane at Bhuvaneswar about 500 A.D., two succeeding monarchs laboured on it, and the fourth[109] of the house completed it in A.D. 657. A slab inscription some centuries later recounts how a pious princess reared another 'cloud-reaching temple with four beautiful halls' to the Lord Siva, 'who destroys the sins of the worshippers, and gives salvation to those who touch (his image) in his holy place.'[110] Almost the only event by which the Palm-leaf Record relieves its monotonous list of kings of the ninth century, is the erection of the Siva temple in Purí, the city destined so soon to become the centre of the

[109] The Alábu Kesari of the Purúshottama Chandriká (p. 30), or the Lalát Indra Kesari of Stirling (As. Res. xv. 266).

[110] Brahmeswar Inscription, verse 12. Journal As. Soc. vii. 561. The name of the queen was Kolávatí, mother of Udyotaka Kesari.

rival worship.[111] And the last public act of the dynasty was the building of the beautiful vestibule to the great shrine at Bhuvaneswar between 1099 and 1104 A.D., or barely thirty years before the extinction of the race.[112]

The religion of royalty everywhere becomes, sooner or later, a religion of luxury. The sixty-three kings of the Lion-line not only built temples, but endowed them with noble estates, and covered the country with settlements of priests. Siva-worship, although the creed of the dynasty almost from the first, very slowly became the accepted faith of the people. The aboriginal and semi-aboriginal low-castes might be fascinated and appalled by its awe-striking solemnities, but the ruling Aryan race, bred up for centuries in the gentle doctrines of Buddha, required a higher order of attractions. To these latter, therefore, it presented itself not as a brutal and bloody superstition, but as a great catholic religion, wide enough and high enough for the loftiest spiritual flights, and yet glowing with that warmth and colour after which a human soul, chilled by the unrealities of the Buddhistic theism, yearns. To the sage it was the adoration of Mahádeva, the Great God; of Maheswara, the Great Lord; of Bhuvaneswara, the Lord of the Earth; of Brahmeswara, the Lord of Lords, or the Lord of the First Creative Energy.[113] The higher minds among the Sivaite sects asserted the unity of the Deity as strenuously as the Buddhists ever did. For common natures

[111] The Márkandeswar temple built by Kundal Kesari, 811–829 A.D. Purúshottama Chandriká, p. 31.

[112] The Nát Mandir, or Dancing Hall, erected by the wife of Salini. Purúshottama Chandriká, p. 34.

[113] It is as Brahmeswara that the inscriptions delight to praise the All-Destroyer. E. D. Brahmeswara Inscription, verses 12, 13. 'This is the very Siva. Brahmeshwara.' Elsewhere he is called 'the holy Brahmá.'

they organized a ritual, splendid, mysterious, and tragic; at one moment enshrouded in the silence and gloom of the innermost sanctuary, at another celebrated amid throngs of frenzied devotees, with thousands of hearts beating together in a unison of religious ecstasy. To the lowest classes it was indeed a religion of blood; but from gentler natures the god accepted a tray of fruits, or a garland of white scented flowers, with an equally propitious eye. It touched every chord of the human imagination, from the deep diapason of terror to the ethereal uppermost octaves; and men contrasted its tropical passionateness, and its solemnities which by turns fascinated, appalled, and enchained, with the neutral-tinted doctrines and the barren rites of Buddhism.

But Siva-worship did not depend alone upon its new converts. Among the shadows which flit across the dissolving views of pre-historic India, one fact stands out with unmistakeable clearness. It is the fact that from time to time great migrations of Bráhmans radiated to the southwards from Upper Hindustán, bringing with them the modern or Hindu form of the Aryan religion, and imposing it upon a recently Buddhistic population. The history of Lower Bengal starts from an immigration of this sort, and the same phenomenon looms through the mists of Orissa tradition, which cloud the origin of the Sivaite line of kings. The local legends and the Palm-leaf Records alike relate how about 500 A.D., the founder of the Long-haired or Lion-line imported ten thousand Bráhmans from Oudh, and endowed them with lands around Jájpur on the sacred Baitaraní river. These newcomers professed the royal religion, and were Sivaites to a man. They found, however, a priestly class already existing, whom it was impossible to extirpate, and unwise to ignore. The Buddhists

recruited their clergy from every class of the people; but doubtless the preceding waves of Aryan settlers who had from time to time made their way into Orissa, formed the upper ranks of the Buddhist community. See *ante*, p. 202, and Asoka's fifth Edict, p. 204. The Bráhman colonists of 500 A.D. were not at first strong enough to degrade the Buddhist element into the mass of the rural populace, and they seem to have conciliated their predecessors by admitting them to a sort of nominal equality. The old Aryan settlers, who had lapsed into Buddhism, obtained the name of Bráhmans, and retain the title to this hour. But as the power of the newcomers expanded under the benignant smiles of royalty, they interdicted these so-called old Bráhmans from all intercourse with themselves. They had refused the *jus connubii* from the first, and the nominal Bráhmans formed a distinct caste, which by degrees sank into the mass of the peasant population. The degraded Bráhmans plough with their own hands, and make excellent husbandmen. Several Fiscal Divisions not very far from Jájpur[114] are entirely cultivated by them; but the orthodox caste, who came in about 500 A.D., stigmatize them as the Potato-Growers.[115] Their less opprobrious title is the Worldly Bráhmans,[116] as opposed to the Vaidik or Sivaite followers of the Veda. Nothing can be further from our ordinary conception of a Bráhman than these half-naked peasants, struggling along under their baskets of yams, and with a filthy little Bráhmanical thread over their shoulder.

[114] *e.g.* Múlgáon, with other Fiscal Divisions of Balasor, and in villages near Jájpur on the banks of the Kharsuá. They are also found in the south of Purí District.

[115] Sáruya, from Sáru, a sort of yam, the Kachu of Bengal (*Arum Colocasia*).

[116] Laukik.

The example of the new priestly colony at Jájpur seems, however, to have exercised an influence on the Worldly caste. In the Districts around that sacred city the latter refrain from any occupation but agriculture. But to the southward, in the old Orissa District of Ganjám, they have sunk into brickmakers and bricklayers, two of the servile handicrafts among the Hindus. This District exhibits every variety of the so-called Bráhman caste, from the haughty priest who traces his descent within historical times to northern India, down through the Ploughing Bráhman[117] into the more degraded trading class,[118] and so finally to the mud-stained labourer who inherits the name of Bráhman, but ranks among the dregs of the population.[119] For ages the so-called old Bráhmans have been a depressed race in Orissa. In many parts they have perished out of the land; and throughout the province they certainly number not more than a third of the Bráhmans who trace their descent from the Sivaite colony at Jájpur thirteen hundred years ago.

As Bhuvaneswar was the political capital of the Sivaite Dynasty of Orissa, so Jájpur was the metropolis of its priests. The rich delta of the Mahánadí stretched between. The secular capital commanded the turbulent south-eastern frontier, but it lay almost within the shadow of the honeycombed Buddhist hills, and the Sivaite kings planted their Bráhman settlement at Jájpur as far as possible from the influence and genius of the preced-

[117] Called Háluya, from Hál, a plough, corresponding to the Sáruya Bráhman of Orissa Proper.

[118] The Sáhu.

[119] The degraded classes of Uriyá Bráhmans in Ganjám are as follows: —The Háluya, or Ploughing Bráhmans, who occasionally serve as cooks in rich families; the Sáhu, or traders; the Bhádu, or tobacco makers; the Sáruya, or Potato-Growers, brickmakers, bricklayers, etc.

ing faith. They endowed the priestly colonists with ample grants of land, and in less than two hundred years the settlement had grown into a great city. In the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrims found Jájpur the capital of Orissa;[120] in the sixteenth, the great battle between the Hindus and the Musalmáns for the supremacy of the Province was fought under its walls. Its ruins attest its ancient grandeur; to this day it continues a favourite place of pilgrimage; and its dilapidated temples and colossal images retain an inviolate sanctity in the mind of the devout Hindu. To the annalist it possesses a higher interest as the greatest and best attested settlement of priests from the north, planted by royal authority in order to impose a new dynastic creed upon an Indian population.

Such settlements form landmarks in Indian history. In my previous works[121] I have shown that the fourfold system of caste as formulated by Manu never applied to Bengal. The keenest ethnical scrutiny can detect but two great elements in the Indian population—the Aryan and non-Aryan races. The former came last, and found the country peopled by earlier non-Aryan tribes. The Aryans still constitute the upper ranks of Indian society, and have either driven the latter into the hills and forests, or degraded them into a servile class upon the plains. During the past few years, public opinion has advanced by rapid strides towards this view. It has been accepted as a starting-point both in the speculations of writers and in the practical policy of the Empire, that the English have to legislate in India, not for a single

[120] M. Julien's Hiouen Thsang, followed by General Cunningham in his new work, Ancient Geography of India, vol. i. pp. 504–510. 1871.

[121] Annals of Rural Bengal, vol. i., and the Preliminary Dissertation to my Non-Aryan Dictionary.

nation divided by artificial distinctions of caste, but for a diversity of races belonging to widely separated branches of the human family, requiring very different treatment, and representing distant stages of progress and civilisation. It has also become generally admitted that the wilder of these tribes, who for ages have been sources of danger to, and objects of oppression by, the Indian dynasties, are not incapable of better things. That many of them have approved themselves loyal subjects, brave soldiers, and faithful allies; and that although, in case of border raids, the first duty is to punish them, yet that the permanent problem of our Frontier Administration is to enlighten and to utilize them.

But while the true character of the low castes has thus been established, the Bráhmans are still accepted as an ethnical entity. The priestly settlement by the Orissa Sivaite kings in the sixth century, however, forms one of many historical evidences which lead me to doubt this postulate of Indian literature. Taken along with similar phenomena in distant parts of the country, it unfolds the Aryan colonization of India in a new and rational light. It discloses no trace of that universal and absolute conquest by which the primitive Aryan Settlers in Northern Hindustán are assumed to have subdued the whole continent to their sway. On the contrary, it dissipates the mist which has toned down their multiform migrations into a homogeneous advance, and exhibits the natural compromises by which a small but gifted people effected their entrance among vastly more numerous races, sometimes indeed by force of arms, but generally by an amalgamation which the vanity of later ages has more or less disguised.

Almost every Province of India contains two widely

diverse sorts of Bráhmans, separated not merely by family or social differences, but apparently by the more rigid distinctions of race. The characteristics of these two classes vary in different provinces. But two facts can be almost universally predicated of them, viz., that the higher order traces its origin to a comparatively recent migration from the north, and deems it necessary to explain the existence of the lower sort by some local legend. They nowhere intermarry, eat together, or have anything in common. Everywhere they form two distinct classes, as widely and as permanently separated as the other recognised ethnical divisions of the Indian community.

I shall now briefly set forth the chief varieties of Bráhmans which I have met with, either personally or in books, starting from the Himálayas and travelling southwards till we emerge at Ceylon. I by no means wish to insinuate that all these varieties proceed from differences of race. The safe limits within which such ethnical distinctions may be accepted will be hereafter explained. But meanwhile, as the reader accompanies me from Province to Province, the old idea of the Bráhmans as a single priestly race, bound together by a common descent and a common vocation, will, I think, fade from his mind.

On the southern slopes of the Himálayas dwell a caste of Bráhman shepherds. They abound in Chambá, near the hill station of Dalhousie, and are distinguished neither by their occupation nor their tribal name[122] from the rest of the shepherd population, in common with whom they possess most curious grazing rights. It is a fierce, stalwart race, very fair, and their women are sin-

[122] Gá*d*ís, from Gá*d*ariyá, a low Hindi word for a shepherd, from Gá*d*ar, a ewe.

gularly handsome. They build their houses with the door to the east, and, like their fellow-herdsmen, worship, as the first thing every morning, the rising sun. Proceeding southward into the arable Kángrá valleys, the shepherds give place to cultivating or ploughing Bráhmans[123] following the Hindu rites, but despised by the Bráhmans who in later times have flocked to the courts of the petty chiefs from the plains. The latter explain the existence of the former by declaring them the lapsed remnants of earlier migrations, and all are nominally admitted within the great Sáraswat family of Bráhmans. But the ploughing caste has no place in the local Bráhman genealogies, although these documents carefully preserve the memorials of the successive Bráhmanical waves that have arrived within historic times.[124] In the Simla hills the Bráhman population consists indiscriminately of shepherds, husbandmen, day-labourers, and menials. The poorer of them are simply coolies. In the inner hills they marry the widows of their elder brothers, like the lower castes of Orissa, and sell their daughters into a slavery faintly disguised by the name of concubinage. Several of the porters who have from time to time brought up my luggage from the plains bore the title of Bráhman, and wore the sacred thread. At this moment, one of my under-servants, a 'mate-bearer,' is a Simla Bráhman, whose immediate superior

[123] Called zamíndárs or landholders. See a very good Settlement Report of the District of Kángrá, by Mr. George Carnac Barnes, C.S., folio, Lahor, 1855, paras. 252–260. I here make my acknowledgments to Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I., for an interesting letter about the Himálayan Bráhmans, and for other aid.

[124] Cf. the classification by Rájá Dharm Chánd, who divided the orthodox Bráhmans into Nagarkotiyás, from Nagarkot, the ancient name of Kángrá; and Baterus, with its thirty-five subdivisions and various grades of rank.

(an Orissa man of the cow-keeping class) would rather be cast adrift two thousand miles from his home, than touch the work which his Bráhman subordinate does, unconscious of a scruple.

In the Himálayas, therefore, the Bráhmans are of three sorts. One class has amalgamated with the surrounding population as to trade or employment, such as the shepherd and menial Bráhmans of the inner hills. The second sort holds an intermediate position, like the ploughing Bráhmans of the Kángrá valley. The third consists of comparatively recent emigrants from the plains, the temporal advisers and spiritual directors of the highland aristocracy. The public ministration at the temples has always continued in the hands of the original natives of the country. The celebrated shrines of Kángrá have a hereditary priesthood,[125] who wear the sacred thread, but form a distinct caste. As a rule, the highland and lowland Bráhmans have an intense contempt for each other. They cannot eat together, nor intermarry; and the hill Bráhman freely partakes of flesh, which the lowland Bráhman of Northern India religiously eschews. In short, the true hill Bráhmans either descend from ancient Bráhman emigrants from the plains, who have had to submit to various degrees of compromise, and to mix with the surrounding population; or they form the remnants of the primitive aristocracy of the highlands, whom the newcomers had to admit into a nominal equality. They derive their origin chiefly from the first, but probably from both sources, as Dr. Leitner's and other recent researches show.

[125] Bhujkís. Some of the Hill Bráhmans trace their migrations to the tyranny of the Musalmáns, and the orthodox Aurangzeb is remembered among them with peculiar hatred.

Proceeding to the plains, the Pattialá Bráhmans engage as day-labourers, and one of their caste has carried me many a mile in a hill palanquin. Advancing south-east to the great tract between the Jamna and the Ganges, I find a population of Bráhman husbandmen whose existence is explained by a legend of their having abandoned the priestly function for agriculture.[126] In Bijnaur they number a full third of the whole Bráhman population, but are separated from them by an even greater distance than the inferior castes of the Aryan community. They permit the re-marriage of widows,[127] and possess a distinct caste system of their own. Proceeding a little southward we obtain an explanation of their existence more intelligible than the 'abandonment' theory, evolved from a false etymology of their name. In Jaipur a similar class of ploughing Bráhmans abounded, and a tradition relates how they were manufactured out of the low castes by the ruling power. A warlike prince required a vast concourse of priests to give dignity to his sacrifice, and accordingly created five tribes[128] of Bráhmans out of the surrounding population. They migrated in numbers to Oudh, in which centre of orthodoxy, however, they did not obtain admittance into the recognised Bráhman caste.[129] Indeed, the Province of

[126] The Tagás, a word which the orthodox Bráhmans who invented the legend derive from Tyága, *given up*,—a derivation which the quantity of the first syllable renders improbable. Sir Henry Elliot gives another explanation of their having been abandoned by their relations in consequence of their being the offspring of a Bráhman with a low-caste woman. The same objection, however, applies. Sir Henry Elliot's Races of the North-Western Provinces, vol. i. pp. 88, 303, etc., ed. 1869. See also an interesting letter in the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 1st June 1871.

[127] Among the Dusá section of the tribe.

[128] (1) Daimá, (2) Parakh, (3) Gujjar Gaur, (4) Paliwál, and (5) Chaurási.

[129] Mr. Patrick Carnegy's excellent Notes on the Races of Avadh. Lucknow, 1868, p. 30.

Oudh had already a similar local tradition of its own. One of its Bráhmanical families[130] derives its origin from a prince[131] whose self-importance would not allow him to offer sacrifice without having 125,000 priests in attendance, and who accordingly invested the common people of the country with the sacred thread.[132] Another class of the Oudh Bráhmans is said to have been arbitrarily created in pre-historic times by Krishna, while a third has practically amalgamated with the military caste.[133] In the very centre of Bráhmanism, therefore, the Bráhmans are a composite people, following diverse occupations, and derived from widely different sources. Even Bráhman arrogance has not been able to conceal this fact in the sacred writings of the Hindus, and the most famous episode of the Mahábhárata relates how a warrior prince won his way into the priestly caste.[134]

Once we pass beyond the Aryan centre, in Upper India, the complex character of the Bráhmans becomes more and more proclaimed. In Benares, and the districts along the Ganges to the southward, a large peasant population claim the title of Bráhman, and under native rule were exempted like the genuine Bráhmans from capital punishment.[135] The priests account for their existence by declaring them to be the lapsed descendants of an earlier Bráhman migration. But some of

[130] The Sawálákhí; literally, *lákh and a quarter.*

[131] Rájá Rám Baghel. The manufacture is also assigned to Mánik Chánd, or even the great Rám Chandra himself.

[132] Sir Henry Elliot's Races of the North-Western Provinces, i. 148. Mr. Beames' edition.

[133] Mr. Carnegy's Notes on Avadh, p. 30.

[134] Cf. the story of Viswámitra and Vasishtha.

[135] The Bhuinhárs; literally, *landholders.* I would here make my acknowledgments to the admirable Memoir of Gházípur District, by Mr. Wilton Oldham, LL.D., of the Bengal Civil Service. Quarto, Allahabad Government Press, 1870.

them have the same tribe name in common with the military caste, and in one case at least the peasant Bráhman of this District and the military class claim descent from a common ancestor. All of them freely enlist in the army, and on so doing add the war-caste affix of *Sinh*, Lion, to their names. Some of them trace their arrival to migrations from the north within historical times, but they have not developed those minute caste differences among themselves which exist among the peasant Bráhmans of Oudh. They make excellent husbandmen, accumulate money by usury, and are a more frugal and less haughty class than the Rájputs or military caste.[136]

Proceeding down the Ganges into Behar, we still find a large population of peasant Bráhmans. Here, however, they less resemble the military caste than the ordinary husbandmen. They bear the same name as the ploughing Bráhmans of the north,[137] and are said to number three-fourths of the whole Bráhman population in the Bhágalpur District. The higher classes among them trace their descent to an ancient migration of the true stock from the north,[138] but the mass of the peasant Bráhmans attribute their origin to another arbitrary manufacture of a hundred thousand priests in pre-histori times.

Such a legend is opposed to the more superstitious

[136] Many of them turned Musalmáns under Aurangzeb. The descendants of the renegades now number about fourteen thousand, and form a turbulent class who gave trouble during the Mutiny.

[137] Bhuinhárs, or more locally Zamíndar Bábhans.

[138] The Mithilá Bráhmans, who, although formally admitted into the Bráhman community, hold a very low place in it, and are probably either the remains of a very ancient Aryan migration into Tirhut, or of the primitive aristocracy of the place, who by an ethnical syncretism obtained entrance into the Bráhman caste.

genius of Lower Bengal,—the last conquest of the Bráhmans, and the country in which their influence is now most absolute. The unwarlike populace of the delta admits with equal facility the temporal supremacy and the divine origin of the priesthood. A class of peasant Bráhmans would disgrace the whole order, and history indistinctly records the process by which this scandal was avoided. On the decline of Buddhism in Lower Bengal in the ninth century A.D., a religious revival similar to that which I have described in Orissa took place. A line of orthodox kings[139] succeeded the Buddhist dynasty,[140] and the founder of the new line invited a migration of Bráhmans from the north in the tenth century,[141] almost precisely as the Orissa kings had done in the sixth. In both Provinces the same difficulty arose as to the status which the former priestly classes should thenceforth hold. We have seen how the question gradually settled itself in Orissa, leaving as its result the ecclesiastical metropolis at Jájpur, and the Potato-Growing Bráhmans, who have sunk into the peasant population. In Bengal the great monarch[142] of the eleventh century put forth his authority to prevent or to obliterate so unseemly a result. He accepted as the basis of his classification the orthodox number five and its multiple,—a number to which I shall hereafter refer. The pious king of the tenth century had brought down *five* Bráhmans[143] from Oudh, and his successor in

[139] The Vaidyas, perhaps more correctly a Kshattriya line, as they appear to have been connected with the Oudh prince Vír Sinh.

[140] The Páls.

[141] According to the Bráhman chronologers, in 914 Sakábda, or 991 A.D. The name of the pious monarch was Adisur. Another tradition speaks of a second importation of five Bráhmans in 1069 A.D.

[142] King Ballál Sen.

[143] (1) Srího̊arsha (Delight); (2) Bedgarbha (the Container of the Veda); (3) Chhándar (*i.e.* Chhanda-Veda, Learned in the Veda); (4) Daksha (Skil-

the eleventh divided the country for Bráhmanical purposes into *five* regions,[144] which gave the sept names[145] to the priests inhabiting them. He found the descendants of the emigrants distributed into fifty-six rural communes scattered over the kingdom,—a fact which discloses, if not an invasion, at least a wholesale migration from the north. These he arranged into fifty-six distinct septs, each of them called after the name of the locality in which it had settled.[146]

But the utmost efforts of royal authority failed to obliterate the internal distinctions of race and caste which separated the Bráhmans of Bengal as elsewhere. Even the above comprehensive classification left out a large population who enforced their title to Bráhmanhood, but who did not live within the fifty-six Bráhman settlements. The number thus excluded is variously stated, the lowest estimate being seven hundred families; to which other genealogists add the Vaidik, or old Bráhmans, and the Mithilás, or the priestly caste of Tirhut. The truth is, that the Bengal classification only included the Bráhmans living within the fifty-six royal settlements. These bear the title of the *village* Bráhmans[147] to the present day, while the other families who enforced their title to Bráhmanhood still retain the name of the Outsiders.[148] But the distinctions and discrepancies do not cease here. For among the Outsiders certain tribes[149] enjoy a sanctity

ful, also the name of the first father-in-law of Siva); and (5) Bhattanáráyan (The Learned Náráyan).

[144] Várendra, Rárhi, Banga, Bagri, and Mithilá.

[145] Srenis.

[146] Of the fifty-six septs, 8 rank as Mukhya Kulins, or Kulins of the first class; 14 as Gauno Kulins, or Kulins of the second class; and 34 as Srotríyas, or Non-Kulins.

[147] Gáins, *i.e.* belonging to a village.

[148] Nangáins, including the Vaidiks, the Nansis or Saptasatis, the Mithilás, Bagris, Pitáris, Jabáris, Barans, and Agradánis.

[149] The Vaidiks, divided into Dakshínátyas or ancient Vaidiks, who dwelt in Bengal before Adisur's importation, and Paschátyas or recent arrivals.

superior even to that of the highest of the fifty-six included castes, and keep themselves even more strictly to spiritual functions; while others, such as those of the Seven Hundred[150] clans, admit their inferiority to the lowest of the included septs.[151] In short, in Bengal as elsewhere, the attempt to represent the Bráhmans as a homogeneous entity has failed.

Passing to Orissa, we find the Bráhmans still more widely separated from each other by occupation, and probably by race. I have already given the legendary origin of the two classes, and described the degraded state of the peasant Bráhmans, or Potato-Growers. The same phenomenon presents itself in the mountainous tracts towards Central India. The Aryan colonization of these inner regions dates from a comparatively recent period. From time to time, the Bráhmans of Orissa have sent forth colonies into the western hill country, where they found employment in the courts of the petty princes. Their descendants assert high pretensions to sanctity, but they are in reality a lazy, improvident class, who live chiefly by begging, and who are inferior in all essentials to the so-called Jungle Bráhmans,[152] whom they found already in the country, and whom they had to admit to nominal Bráhmanhood. These Jungle Bráhmans form one of the most respectable of the cultivating castes. Frugal, hard-working, and intelligent, they till their hereditary acres or engage in trade. Their origin loses itself in antiquity; but they represent the remnants either of a pre-historic Aryan migration, or of the aboriginal rural aristocracy, whose real history the

[150] The Saptasatis.

[151] *i.e.* to the thirty-four Srotríyas, or Non-Kulin septs of the fifty-six included tribes.

[152] The Jhárwár Bráhmans.

new Bráhmans have tried to disguise. Here as elsewhere, no connection, either domestic or social, exists between the two divisions of the so-called Bráhman caste.

Hitherto I have dealt with the Bráhmans of Northern India, who are popularly supposed to be divided into *five* great families,[153] claiming a common origin, and forming a homogeneous and hereditary priesthood. I have shown that in the very Provinces specially identified with each of the five members, there exists not one, but at least two, sorts of Bráhmans, separated from each other by occupation, by absence of the *jus connubii*, and in some cases at least by race. In my survey I have not referred to accidental degradations arising from breach of caste rules, or from taking service with the lower ranks of the Hindus. In Southern India, where the Aryan colonists were fewer and more scattered, the co-existence of at least two widely separated classes of Bráhmans stands out in even greater distinctness. Here also the Bráhmans pretend to a common origin, divided as in the north into *five* septs.[154] But we shall see that outside of these recognised families a vast population exists who claim the name of Bráhmans, but who cannot be identified with the true caste, and whose existence has to be accounted for by extravagant local fables.

Many of the Bráhman migrations into Southern India belong to distinctly historical times. A legend of the districts to the south of Orissa relates how, in the fifteenth century, a great colony of priests, driven down-

[153] They assert a common origin from the Gaur race of Bráhmans; and their five branches are: (1) the Gaur proper, (2) the Kanauj, (3) the Sáraswat, (4) the Mithilá or Maithil, and (5) the Orissa or Utkal.

[154] The Drávira family, divided into (1) Drávira, (2) Karnátí, (3) Telingá, (4) Gujrátí, and (5) Maháráshtra or Marhattá.

wards by a famine in the north, settled on the Crown lands.[155] But they soon found themselves mingled with a mixed mass, who asserted a title to Bráhmanhood. They accordingly drew up a scheme of classification, which survived till the beginning of the present century. Unlike the similar arbitrary classifications of other Provinces, it assigns the highest rank to the first arrivals; and the successive migrations, instead of degrading their predecessors, had themselves to accept a lower rank. The explanation probably is, that the original or Buddhist Bráhmans here mustered in such strength as to resist the pretensions which the more recent emigrants from the north have in most other Provinces been able to enforce. But while one section of them asserted the priestly dignity, another part of the so-called Bráhmans followed the degraded calling of hereditary village police.[156]

In the Krishná Valley, a little farther south, tradition assigns the settlement of the higher sort of Bráhmans to an invitation by an aboriginal, and probably a Buddhistic, prince[157] of the third century A.D. The legend closely corresponds with the Bráhman colonization of Orissa by the Sivaite dynasty, upon the decline of Buddhism, at the end of the fifth. The Bráhmans of the western side of

[155] In the reign of Pratáp Rudra, King of Warangúl, whose reign varies from 1323 to 1476 A.D. It is not necessary for my present purposes to settle the precise date. The legends of the upper Godávarí District place him in the fourteenth century; the Vijayanagaram chronicles prefer the fifteenth. Inedited MS. folios of the Mackenzie Papers in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, vol. vi. pp. 73–100, vol. x. pp. 35–38, and vol. xv. pp. 325–329. For the earlier date, see the Central Provinces' Gazetteer, p. 499. Nagpur, 1870.

[156] Mackenzie MS., vol. x. pp. 35–38.

[157] Munkunti Pahlava, King of Dharaníkota. Other migrations, at the beginning of the present era, have also left their indistinct traces in the local traditions of the Krishna Delta.

the Peninsula aspire to a more venerable antiquity. In bygone ages, says the Malabar legend, the sea washed the foot of the mountains which now lie ten to twenty miles inland, and the hillmen fished from their slopes. In those days, the great Parasuráma[158] dwelt near Goa, but the shame of his mother's misdeeds made him leave the place. Inspired by a divine impulse, he seized a rice winnow, and hurled it from the mountains southwards across the sea, as far as Cape Comorin. Forthwith the tract of ocean over which the winnow had passed dried up into the long level strip of country now called Malabar.[159]

Here he sought a retreat. The fishermen soon flocked down from the mountains, however, and settled around his asylum. But amid these low castes no Bráhman could be found; so the sage took their nets, and tore them into shreds, which he twisted together into the sacred thread, and, tying it round their shoulders, made the whole population of fishermen into Bráhmans. In process of time, colonies of the true caste came down from the north, and the aboriginal Bráhmans of Malabar sunk into a despised class.[160] They follow different customs from the orthodox caste, and hold that only the eldest male of the family should marry,—a deprivation for which the younger brothers make amends, by connections with women of the Nair, or aboriginal military caste of Southern India.[161] Unlike the pure Bráhmans,

[158] The Bráhman incarnation of Vishnu.

[159] For the rice-winnow another legend substitutes Parasuráma's battle-axe; and the hero's weapon still figures on the ancient copper coinage of the West Coast of India.

[160] Letters from Malabar, by the Dutch Chaplain, Jacob Canter Visscher, in 1743. pp. 9, 10. Madras, 1862. Cf. Dr. Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 306. Madras, 1862.

[161] Pharoah's Southern India, p. 506. Madras, 1855. These Bráhmans bear the name of Námburis, and are separated from the others by a great gulf of mutual contempt. Also Dr. Day's Permauls, p. 303, etc.

they do not restrict the age within which they consider marriage proper, although, when a girl has passed the age of puberty, the bridegroom expects a large dowry. They practise polygamy to an extent unknown among the ordinary Bráhmans, seven wives being the legal limit. In appearance and dress they resemble the Nairs, and, as might be expected, chastity is not one of the virtues of a community which narrows the privilege of marriage to the eldest of the family. Indeed, their whole ideas about marriage closely resemble those of the aboriginal Nairs, with the exception that the head of the family enters into the permanent obligations of matrimony. The other males retain the temporary and promiscuous polyandry with the Nair women, characteristic of the aboriginal castes of that part of India. These peculiar customs, independently of the local legend, would mark an origin distinct from the ordinary Bráhmans; and their system of concubinage is perhaps the remnant of the free connection of the tribes in ancient times, before one section of them had attained to Bráhmanhood, and its caste rules had hardened and set. As with some of the aboriginal races, the succession to property, among certain of their families, goes through the female line to the nephews.[162] In spite of their descent from the low-caste fisher-tribes, and of their semi-aboriginal customs, they now claim for themselves a high rank, and in their turn despise the more recent emigrants from the north, although the very name of the latter[163] records their claim to superior dignity. A very intelligent observer[164] in the first

[162] I have here to depend upon Pharoah, who cites certain families in Pagnur, p. 507.

[163] The Pátras, from the Sanskrit pátra, *excellent, accomplished.*

[164] The Dutch Pastor Visscher above cited. Of course, on their elevation to Bráhmanhood, they abandoned their old calling as fishermen.

half of the last century, however, states that the Malabar Bráhmans at that time were despised as the offspring of the low fisher-tribes. Even at the present day, I believe they do not deny the natural superiority of the foreign Bráhmans, but say that the newcomers lost purity by staining their hands with the blood of a tyrant prince.[165] Besides these two classes, there is a third which wears the sacred thread, and claims the title of Bráhman, but who cannot eat or intermarry with them, and 'who might be supposed to be of the military caste, but that they are not permitted to bear arms.'[166] Among the Kankáni Bráhmans, the legend of their origin survives so distinctly, that the catching of a fish forms part of their wedding ceremonial, along with the casting of a net.[167]

Proceeding inland, the same distinction of Worldly and Vaidik Bráhmans exists in Velor as in Orissa. They do not intermarry, and the difference between them seems to proceed from a more fundamental source than that which separates the pure caste from the section which has lapsed by breaches of caste rules. Sometimes, indeed, an indigent Vaidik gives his daughter to a Worldly Bráhman, but in doing so he loses his own purity. In no sense are they the priests of the Hindu community. A few fallen families officiate in the temples of Vishnu and Siva, but by doing so they lose

165 Buchanan's Journey, vol. ii. p. 106, etc. As I have never visited Malabar, the above remarks are derived from local works, not personal observation.

166 The Iliyadárs and Masids. Pharoah's Southern India, p. 508.

167 I am indebted to conversations with Dr. Francis Day, who was five years at Cochin, for this and several other facts. The Kankáni Bráhmans deny these ceremonies to strangers. To this day the Súdra Rájás of Travancor are manufactured into Bráhmans on their accession by passing through the belly of a golden cow. Day's Permauls, p. 314.

all claim to connubial or social intercourse with the pure caste; and no Bráhman, however degraded, will minister in the popular temples of the local gods, whose altars are stained with blood. At the time of Tipu Sultán, the Worldly caste monopolized the petty offices of the rural revenue, as on the other side of India they formed the village police.

Communities of peasant Bráhmans[168] dot the Province of Mysor, and live equally apart from the lower and the upper castes. They form the entire population in several tracts, and seem to be the remnants of an old rural aristocracy. Until the time of Tipu Sultán they monopolized the irrigated lands, leaving the fields which could command no water-supply to a lower caste of husbandmen. Under the Hindu rule, they paid only the same proportion of rent for their wet lands as the inferior peasants did for the arid fields; but Tipu ignored their privileges, and, under his strict administration of the land revenue, numbers of them deserted their holdings. The more pure, or at least more recent Bráhmans, here as elsewhere, disdain to touch the plough, and their settlements seem to have been founded on conquest, as they reduced a large body of the people to prædial slavery. The serfs[169] who cultivated their lands formed the most hardy and laborious part of the rural community; and so sensible was Haidar Alí of their value, that in his incursions it was the Bráhmans' slaves whom he chiefly tried to carry away, in order to form peasant

[168] Called Haigás, numerous in Haigá itself, and in the hill villages of Sundá. Near Kutáki, the inhabitants are all Haigás. Buchanan's Journey in 1800 and 1801, vol. ii. 292, 345, 350, 394. Madras, 1870.

[169] The Pancham Bandam, consisting of the Pariar, the Baluan, the Shaekliar, and the Toti. Buchanan's Journey, 1800, vol. i. p. 13. Madras, 1870.

settlements in his own country. In the Kolar District, also, a class of cultivating Bráhmans is found.[170]

Proceeding southwards to Madura, the position of the Bráhmans becomes still more complicated. Indeed, the existence of any true Bráhman caste here is doubted. The Chola Bráhmans, who claim to be the oldest in the District, do not disguise their mixed descent; and the whole of the native Bráhmans of the Province admittedly spring from connections and compromises, such as the pure caste in Northern India would contemplate with abhorrence. Even the better sort of them, although claiming to belong to one of the five great southern branches, cannot specify the particular one from which they descend.[171] Distinct traditions relate how they came into the country at various periods, and one legend[172] closely corresponds to the Orissa story of the King importing a body of priests from the north, in order to introduce Siva-worship. The truth is, that the farther south we go, the more completely does our preconceived conception of the Bráhman caste diverge from the actual facts. In Madura, even the blacksmiths aspire to the dignity of Bráhmanhood. They form one of the undoubted Súdra, or aboriginal castes, in the more perfectly Bráhmanized parts of India; but in common with four other[173] of the principal crafts in the south of the Peninsula, they wear the sacred thread, and refuse precedence to the admitted Bráhmans. The Bráhmanical element here finds itself

170 Report on Kolar District, para. 61. Bangalor Jail Press, 1869.

171 The Madura Country, by Mr. J. H. Nelson, M.A., of the Civil Service. Part ii. p. 23. Madras, 1868.

172 *Idem.* Part iii. p. 48.

173 The five castes are called the Panchála, or Kamallans, and consist of (1) goldsmiths, (2) silversmiths, (3) carpenters, (4) blacksmiths, and (5) stone-cutters.

so weak, and so accustomed to compromises with the original population, that the priests have invented a legend, to give a semi-Aryan descent to five castes, which everywhere else rank as Súdras.[174] A local proverb[175] bears witness to a constant series of such compromises, by which the aboriginal tribes forced a recognition from the Bráhman settlers, and obtained entrance into the higher castes.

Crossing over to Ceylon, the process of manufacturing Bráhmans out of the non-Bráhman population presents itself without disguise. An ancient King of Madura invited into his dominions an aboriginal tribe of 48,000 men from the north. Their descendants rank high, but adhere to the rustic husbandry of a simple race. They now refrain, however, as much as possible, from actually holding the plough, which in ancient times was their special occupation.[176] This hereditary peasant-caste enjoy the title of the 'Cultivating Bráhmans' in Ceylon.;[177] although here they still preserve their ancient occupation, and their title of Bráhman has never hardened into a caste name.

Whence come these diversities in the Bráhman

[174] They say that they are descended from a Bráhman father by a Sethi woman. Mr. Nelson's Madura, Part ii. pp. 6 and 70.

[175] 'The Kallan (or lowest aboriginal race) became an Ahambadiyan (one step up); the Ahambadiyan became a Maravan (another step); the Maravan became a Vellalan;' and as we shall see in the next paragraph, the Vellalan has obtained the title of Bráhman in Ceylon.

[176] The Sáthagá of Náráyan describes their duties as follows: 'The Vellalans, by the effects of their ploughing (or cultivation), maintain the prayers of the Bráhmans, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity donations, connubial happiness, the Vedas and all other books, truth, reputation, the very being of the gods, come to pass by the efficacy of the Vellalan's plough.' Abridged from Mr. Taylor's work on the Oriental MSS., quoted in Mr. Nelson's Madura, Part ii. p. 31.

[177] Goi Bámano. Upham's Mahávansí, quoted in Mr. Nelson's Madura, Part ii. p. 36.

caste? In every province of India our search has disclosed the supposed hereditary priesthood, to be not an ethnical entity bound together by a common vocation or a common descent, but a composite people whose elements in some cases assert a separate origin, and everywhere stand apart from each other by difference of occupation, by the prohibition to intermarry, and by deep-rooted contempt. The higher Bráhmans account for the phenomenon by saying that the lower sort has lost caste from touching the plough; and when forced to admit the inadequacy of this explanation, they fall back upon the superior purity of the later migrations from the north as compared with the first settlers. The Veda exhibits to us a very primitive race praying to the gods for the safety of its flocks and crops —a people of shepherds and husbandmen. In the Epics the husbandmen and herdsmen among the Twice-Born Tribes already appear as somewhat lapsed classes (Mahábh. Moksha-dharmma, sl. v.). Manu goes further and denounces agriculture as absolutely degrading (iii. 165; iv. 5; Calcutta Ed.). But the caste-system, as represented by Manu, was developed long after the first movements of the Aryan race towards Southern India, and never spread in its entirety beyond Northern Hindustán. The earlier emigrants southward knew nothing of its restrictions, and freely followed their ancient occupations long after those callings had been discarded in the headquarters of their race, just as words and idioms obsolete for a full century in England continue current in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The later Aryan adventurers who hived southwards after the caste-system had hardened and set in Hindustán, found India covered with settle-

ments of common origin with themselves, but following occupations and professing beliefs which they had come to regard with abhorrence. They admitted them to the bare name of Bráhmans, *i.e.* Aryans, but in general denied them all intercourse. Not invariably, however; for when the newcomers arrived in small bodies, they could not enforce their superior pretensions, and the previous settlers who outnumbered them compelled them to accept a lower rank.[178]

This, however, forms but a part of the explanation. The later migrations of Bráhmans or Aryans from the north not only brought with them a more rigid caste-system, but also a new faith. Between the religion of the Indian Epics and modern Hinduism, stretches the wide intermediate tract of the Bhuddistic period,—a period varying in different parts of India from two hundred to twelve hundred years. The downfall of Buddhism in many provinces took place amid a great revival of the Bráhmanical creed, and such revivals were generally brought about or sustained by a migration of Bráhmans from the north. In Bengal a migration of this sort shines through the mists of ten centuries, as the one great event contemporary with the foundation of an orthodox line of kings, and the introduction of modern Hinduism upon the ruins of the Pál Dynasty and their Buddhist faith. The Orissa legends preserve the details of a similar settlement of Bráhmans from the north in 500 A.D., on the expulsion of the Buddhist Yavanas and the establishment of the Sivaite form of Hinduism. The traditions of the Krishná valley point to a corresponding migration; and in the extreme point of the Peninsula, a Madura monarch introduced new rites by

[178] Cf. the Settlements under King Pratáb Rudra, King of Warangúl.

means of a priestly colony from the north, exactly as the Vaidya Dynasty did in Bengal and the Lion-line did in Orissa. How far such royal invitations disguise invasions, I need not here pause to inquire. They disclose the fact of Buddhism being extinguished amid great southward movements of the northern Aryans, and the newcomers would naturally strive to degrade the Buddhist clergy and upper classes whom they superseded. They could not deny their claims to kindred race, and in many cases the weakness of the modern emigrants compelled them to compromises with their predecessors. But such concessions usually amounted to equality in name alone. As the spread of Buddhism stands out in a close, although not always a constant, relation to the advance of the Yavanas, so the establishment of the modern Hindu religion belongs to a period of diffusive activity radiating from the Bráhmanical centre in Hindustán.

But in some Provinces the internal differences between the Bráhmans lie deeper than this, and rest upon an ethnical basis. From remote antiquity two great tribes of the Indo-Aryans appear in bold contradistinction to each other, the Kshattriyas and the Bráhmans. The latter in the end obtained the supremacy, and their superior culture made them the sole chroniclers of the strife. But even their partial legends describe twenty-one great struggles, each closing with the alleged extirpation of the Kshattriyas, but the next one always opening with them as rampant as ever. The contest brought down Vishnu himself upon the scene, and his Bráhman incarnation[179] was devoted to sweeping the Kshattriyas from the face of the earth. In spite of their celestial allies, however, the Bráhman legends

[179] His sixth, as Parasuráma.

faintly disguise the fact that in some cases at least they had to make terms with the rival tribe, as in the Viswámitra episode in the Mahábhárata, already alluded to. It seems in accordance with the facts of universal history, that in this long struggle the Bráhmans should seek alliance with the aboriginal tribes, and that such alliances should in some cases end in an amalgamation more or less complete of the two races. Accordingly we find the Bráhman incarnation of Vishnu manufacturing a whole population of Bráhmans out of the fisher tribes of Malabar; and the story which crops up in so many Provinces, of the low castes being made into Bráhmans in order to attend a royal sacrifice, probably veils an ethnical syncretism of the same sort. At Jaipur it is five septs of Bráhmans that were thus manufactured; in Bhagalpur, 100,000 families; in Oudh, 125,000; and generally, although not always, some incarnation of Vishnu in quite pre-historic times appears on the scene to perform the operation. The Aryan Bráhmans extended the use of their name very much more sparingly than the Romans to their subjects or allies. The aboriginal or low castes thus adopted into the Bráhman population never attained more than a nominal equality; nowhere do they eat together or intermarry with the higher class; in many places they have sunk to the level of the labouring populace; and even in Malabar, where they assert lofty claims, the Bráhman settlers from Upper India despise their non-Aryan origin, and ridicule their pretensions.

In some Provinces the lower Bráhmans appear to be the remnants of the old rural aristocracy, whom the Aryan emigrants found settled in the land, and whom they were compelled to adopt into the ruling class. In

the remote valleys of the Himálayas, and down the rich tracts of the Ganges, the name of these old Bráhmans (the 'Soilholders')[180] declares their immemorial connection with the land, and the southernmost District of India discloses an ethnical syncretism of the same sort in an unfinished state. The Vellalans of Madura trace their descent to an aboriginal tribe within historical times, and a local proverb already cited records their advance in the scale of castes. They very nearly, but not quite, attained the rank of Peasant Bráhmans on the mainland, and a colony which they threw out to Ceylon bears the title of 'Cultivating Bráhmans' in that island. This honorific has not yet hardened into a caste name; but, taken along with the previous history of the race, it exhibits in an inchoate stage the process by which the aboriginal tribes may have attained to Peasant Bráhmanhood.

I trust that other local observers may begin where I have left off. Hitherto English historians have servilely accepted the artificial classifications and one-sided legends of the Bráhmans with regard both to themselves and the other Indian castes, and the result has been a series of historical dogmas as uninteresting as they are unnatural and untrue. Local observation alone will correct these fables, and substitute for the rectangular absurdities which the priestly chronicles have made to fit into the rigid Bráhmanical mould, those free and irregular movements which give grace and truth to history. My existing materials do not allow me to venture upon any comprehensive theory, although I think that these pages reveal for the first time the truth about the spread of the Aryans or Bráhmans through India. It suffices for the present, that the facts now brought together demolish the

[180] Bhuinhárs, or Zamindárs.

old idea of the Bráhmans as an exclusive priesthood, claiming a common origin, and adhering through thousands of years to their sacred functions. They exhibit the Bráhmans as plastic as the rest of mankind, changing with the altered beliefs and necessities of the Indian world, amenable to social, perhaps to ethnical compromises, and destitute of those august prescriptive rights which so long stood in the way of legislation and reform. We have seen that in several Provinces they are emphatically *not* the priesthood of the people, and that so far from being an ethnical entity following an immemorial vocation, they contain within their caste every trade and calling. We have seen the Bráhmans as shepherds, as ploughers of the soil, as potato-growers; as brickmakers, bricklayers, and petty traders; as carpenters, stone-cutters, blacksmiths, and village policemen, who in India rank very low in the social scale; as the descendants of the aboriginal fisher tribes; as arbitrarily manufactured out of the promiscuous low castes; as day-labourers and as menial servants.

The priestly settlement at Jájpur has left memorials not unworthy of the ecclesiastical capital of Orissa. During two days I wandered among the ruins of the Sivaite faith, amid dilapidated temples, time-worn flights of river stairs, statues ignominiously cast upon their faces, noseless gods, and jungle-buried monoliths. Whatever Musalmán bigotry could destroy has perished; and the grave of an Afghán iconoclast, quarried out of Hindu shrines, now forms the most conspicuous monument in the metropolis of the Sivaite priests. The Muhammadans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stabled their horses in the Hindu palaces, and tore down the great temples stone by stone, to build royal residences for

their own chiefs. At first the Orissa deities, who became the demons of the Musalmáns, as the gods of Greece and Rome furnished devils to primitive Christendom, resisted by signs and portents. But there came a saint[181] in the Afghán army, whose detestation of the infidel had transported him from Central Asia to the Bay of Bengal, and whose piety (or persecution) cowed the evil spirits of the bygone creed into silence. He threw down the colossal statues of the Hindu gods, and for nearly three centuries they have lain prostrate under his mystical spells. The great high place of Sivaism resounded with the Friday prayers and the daily readings of the Kurán; and a curious document, dated 210 years ago, still enjoins the Jájpur authorities to pay the charge for lamps to the Musalmán family in charge of the public ministration of Islam. Towards the end of that century a noble mosque rose out of the inexhaustible quarries which the ancient temples supplied.[182] But it was reserved for the English to put the finishing-stroke of ruin to the royal and sacred edifices of Jájpur. The Magistrate recently regretted that our Public Works officers had torn down the last remnants of the ancient palace, and built bridges along the trunk road with the stones.

But even the iconoclast fury of Islam, and the vandalism of the English Public Works Department, have failed to obliterate the artistic magnificence of the Lion-line. A well-proportioned column, similar to the Sun Pillar, of which an engraving will be found at page 290, rises above the jungle, and bears traces of the impotent fury of the Musalmán troops. The Afgháns

[181] Alí Bukhár, or Bukhárí Sáhib, a fanatical follower of Kálápahár in the sixteenth century.

[182] Built by Nawáb Abu Nasír, in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1681 A.D.

tried to drag it down by chains and teams of elephants, but the barbarian conquerors of the sixteenth century found themselves unable to destroy the graceful Hindu creations of the tenth. They managed, however, to pull down the Sacred Vulture[183] which crowned its Capital, and the exquisite shaft lifts its dishonoured head in witness against a creed which sought the glory of God in the destruction of the fairest works of man.

The bigotry of Islam defeated itself. The most important monuments at Jájpur owe their preservation to their having been thus thrown on their faces, and kept immoveable on the ground by the spells of the warlike saint. Three colossal statues lay prone for more than two centuries; and when, in 1866, a spirited young Magistrate determined to raise them, the populace warned him that the sacrilege would make the holy man uneasy in his tomb. 'Notwithstanding this objection,' runs the official report with inflexible humour, 'the figures have been raised and placed on the river bank, in that piece of ground where most of the public buildings stand.'[184] They consist each of one enormous block of chlorite, towering, even in their sitting posture, far above the heads of puny mortals, and represent the Queen of Heaven,[185] the Earth Goddess who took on herself a mortal form[186] to become the wife of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, and the Goddess of Destruction,[187] the tutelary genius of the place. These colossal monoliths must have been dragged across the river-intersected delta from the mountains of the Tributary States a hundred

[183] The Garur.

[184] From Mr. Joseph Armstrong, C.S., Assistant Magistrate in charge of Jájpur, to the Magistrate of Cattack, No. 67, dated 4th Sept. 1866. C. R.

[185] Indrání, wife of Indra, God of the Atmosphere.

[186] Varáhiní.

[187] Kálí.

miles off, and their hard blue stone still bears witness to the fine chisellings of early Hindu art.[188] The Queen of Heaven, a four-armed goddess, sits in calm majesty, with an admirably cut elephant as her footstool. A muslin drapery[189] falls in delicate curves to her feet, and is fastened by a girdle at the waist. Elaborate ornaments cover her breast, and her hair towers up in a cone of curls interwoven with rich gems, with a single massive tress hanging down upon either shoulder.

The Earth Goddess, who became the wife of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, sits with her infant on her knee, and, like the other two, consists of a colossal monolith eight feet high by four in breadth. Magnificent bracelets adorn the wrists and shoulders of her four arms, and the little finger of her left hand proves that Hindu ladies of that remote period wore rings. Heavy necklets almost hide the bosom and waist, which her muslin drapery, as in the first figure, leaves half-bare. Bell-bangles encircle her ankles, crescent-shaped earrings depend from her ears, and on her head she wears a jewelled tiara, with the hair done up into a tower of curls, and a heavy tress falling upon each shoulder. She sits on a finely carved buffalo, the artistic lines of whose head and muzzle form a striking contrast to the miserable conventionalities which represent the sacred bull in front of Siva shrines at the present day. A temple to her husband, the Boar Incarnation, crowns a time-worn flight of stairs leading up from the river, adorned with a curious relief of the Sun God, but in other parts disfigured by the obscene sculpture which disgraces Vishnuvite art.[190]

[188] 900 to 1200 A.D.

[189] Sári.

[190] This Baráha Temple was the work of King Pratáb Rudra Deo, 1504–1532 A.D., but the Sun-slab which is stuck into the wall belongs to a much earlier date. Purúshottama Chandriká, p. 50.

The most striking of the three monoliths, however, is the Wife of the All-Destroyer,—a colossal naked skeleton, with the skin hanging to the bones, and the veins and muscles standing out in ghastly fidelity. This appalling symbol of human decay has her hair brushed back under a snake fillet, with a death's-head over her forehead, and the distended hood of the cobra as a canopy above. Her serpent tresses fall down in twisted horror over her cheek. An endless string of skulls winds round her neck, her breast, her loins, and whole body. She sits upon a small figure of her husband, the God of Destruction, and the whole rests upon a lotus-leafed pedestal.[191] In a curious gallery overlooking the now dried-up bed of the river, another figure of the Goddess of Destruction ranks with the parent of the God of Death among the Seven Mothers of Hindu Mythology.[192] They form a series of beautifully-carved but sometimes revolting monoliths, to whose terrors the darkness of the gallery gives additional effect. The Goddess of Destruction here stands in the moment of her victory over the demon-host,[193] leaping with savage joy, a brimming cup of blood in one of her four hands, and her battle-axe in another. Her husband, fearful lest the shaken universe should split in pieces under the dancing fury, has thrown himself beneath her feet. The mother of the God of Death looms through the darkness as 'a hideous, decrepit old woman, seated on a pedestal, quite naked, with a countenance alike expressive of extreme old age, and of that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as a scold.'

[191] Not on a car (Váhana), as supposed by Stirling in his generally admirable sketch. As. Res. xv. 336. Serampur, 1821.

[192] Indrání, Varáhiní, Vaishnaví, Kumárí, Yama-Mátriká, Kálí, and Rudrání.

[193] With Raktavíj and Sambhu Nisambhu at their head.

The temple walls and monolithic sculptures of Jájpur furnish even in their fragmentary state a chronicle of the ever-shifting religions of India. The great flight of steps which leads from the river to the shrine of the Boar Incarnation, commemorates by its name[194] the august Horse Sacrifice of Vedic times. Among the gods who thronged to the ceremony came Holy Mother Ganges; and ever since those solemn rites she has sent an offshoot of her waters through the bowels of the earth into Orissa, which emerges as the sacred Baitaraní River, the Styx of the Hindus. This primitive tradition still commands the popular belief, and the official report on the Baitaraní, drawn up for me by the British Authorities at Cattack, inaccurately stated that the river flowed underground for a mile. Fortunately, the Commissioner, who was good enough to look over the proof-sheets, had followed the course of the stream far into the Tributary States, and the sacred subterraneous channel has dwindled into a thickly wooded gorge.[195] Sivaite worship succeeded, *longo intervallo*, to these Vedic legends and pre-historic rites, and Jájpur next boasted itself the abode of the Goddess of Destruction and of the Sivaite Kings. On the death of his wife,[196] Siva wandered disconsolate for ages through the world, carrying her body on his head, and refusing to be comforted. But the other deities, pitying his despondency, cut up the corpse into fifty-one fragments, which, falling in different places,[197] made the fifty-one places of pilgrimage devoted to the Goddess of Destruction. A part dropped down

194 Das-aswamedh Ghát.

195 *Vide* my Statistical Account of the Tributary States, App. III.

196 In her form of Satí, daughter of Daksha and grand-daughter of Brahmá.

197 Piths.

on Purí, where, even within the temple of the rival Vishnuvite god, she is worshipped as The Stainless One.[198] Another fell at Jájpur, where a temple still stands in a lofty cocoa-nut grove to her, as the Goddess free from Ignorance.[199]

On the downfall of the Sivaite line in 1132, the bright Vishnuvite faith took up its abode in the City of the Goddess of Destruction. During the next few centuries the town formed the occasional headquarters of the Vishnuvite Dynasty. The sacred bird of Vishnu crowned the exquisite monolithic column which the Muhammadans in vain endeavoured to throw down. Another image of the Sacred Vulture now lies buried in a tank. The incarnations of Vishnu form the subject of endless sculptures and *alto-relievos* on the walls, and a temple to Jagannáth himself rises close to the sculptured gallery containing The Seven Mothers. A legend has now naturalized the new rites in the ancient metropolis of the Sivaite priests, and relates how Vishnu here slew a demon[200] whose corpse stretched southwards to Rájmahendri, 400 miles down the coast. I found the whole people Vishnuvite, the sacred plant of Vishnu outside every house,[201] a temple to Balabhadra (Jagannáth's brother) in one of the villages,[202] and a local Purána, or Sacred Poem, reciting the victory of the God over the Demon. Even the minute ramifications of the Vishnuvite creed have left their representations at Jájpur. The Sun God still drives his seven-horsed chariot on

[198] Bimalá.

[199] Birajá; hence Birajá or Párvatí Kshetra, the name of Jájpur and the region round about, sacred to the wife of Siva.

[200] Gayá Asur. In Kendrápárá, the Subdivision immediately adjoining Jájpur to the south-east.

[201] The *Tulsí*.

[202] Ichhápur.

the walls, and a colony of Sun-worshippers continues to keep alive the sacred fire in a neighbouring grove.

The city unhappily formed the theatre of the struggle between the Musalmáns and the Hindus in the sixteenth century, and emerged in ruins from the strife. 'I know spots where once stood populous villages,' writes a recent Magistrate, 'which have scarcely a sign of habitation.'[203] This contest belongs to the next chapter; and here it will suffice to add, that notwithstanding the ravages of war, seven separate settlements of Bráhmans still trace their descent from the immigration of the sixth century A.D. They claim to hold their broad and fertile lands, studded with rich cocoa-nut groves, from the Sivaite monarch who between 474 and 520 A.D. expelled the Buddhist Dynasty and brought in Hindu rites. A great gulf still divides them from the surrounding peasantry, and the Jájpur people have from time immemorial borne an evil character for quarrelsomeness and class-litigation. The city forms the capital of a Subdivision of the same name, and contains the Subdivisional courts, a police station, a post office, a charitable dispensary, the office of an overseer of public works, and a Government Aided Anglo-Vernacular school. The river has shifted its bed, and flows to the north of the town, separating the District of Cattack from that of Balasor. Jájpur still derives much wealth from a yearly religious fair,[204] and from the piety of pilgrims who come to celebrate the obsequies of their ancestors in the City of the Goddess of Destruction. The priests keep cows which they sell to the devotees,

[203] Mr. Armstrong's Report to the Magistrate of Cattack. 4th September 1866.

[204] Dedicated to Báruní, Queen of the Lord of Waters, held in March or April, when the people flock to bathe in the holy waters of the Baitaraní.

who return them as a gift to their former owners, in obedience to a sacred maxim which enjoins each pilgrim to present a cow to his spiritual guide as he crossed 'the dreadful Baitaraní river.' The city ranks fourth in Orissa,[205] and contains 2169 houses with 9180 inhabitants.

But in spite of the fascinations of Siva-worship; in spite, too, of the shoals of obsequious priests from the crowded north, who settled on the Crown-lands of Orissa, Buddhism for some centuries held its own. The Chinese pilgrim who visited India between 630 and 650 B.C., bears witness to its vigorous existence in the delta of the Mahánadí, not less than in the delta of the Ganges, and to the deadly conflict which was going on between it and the modernized Sanskrit faith. 'In Orissa,' he says, 'there are a hundred Buddhistic monasteries, containing about ten thousand cenobites. There are also heretics (Bráhmanists) who frequent the temples of the (Sanskrit) gods. The partisans of error are mingled in wild confusion with the followers of the truth. There remain, however, ten pillars of the Buddhist King Asoka, the sites of frequent miracles and prodigies.'[206] Buddhism in Orissa does not appear to have possessed that power of assimilation with Siva-worship which it exhibited on the slopes of the Himálayas.[207] When at length it disappeared, it melted not into Sivaism, but into the Vishnuvite rites of Jagannáth. The original Aryan conquerors, the Worldly or Root-growing Bráhmans of the present day, seem to have sullenly held aloof from the royal religion, and from its colonies of the newly-imported priests.

[205] (1) Cattack, (2) Balasor, (3) Purí, (4) Jájpur.

[206] Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang, par Stanislas Julien, 1853, p. 184.

[207] H. H. Wilson's Notes on three Tracts received from Nepal. Works, ii. 2. 1862.

The latter, true to the orthodox instincts of Bráhmanism, continue Siva-worshippers to this hour, in spite of all the reforming activity which has been at work during the past four centuries in Orissa. Although Purí is now the focus of Vishnu-worship, and notwithstanding the hundred thousand Vishnuvite pilgrims that stream along its roads, and pour out their treasure at its shrines every year, the Bráhmans generally worship Siva as their village god, and some of their settlements[208] hold their lands under grants from the Lion-line dated a thousand years ago. In the minutest ceremony they are still the priests of the Sivaite Dynasty. For example, an inscription of that dynasty speaks of the All-Destroyer at Bhuvaneswar as the god 'whom the water of the Ganges worshippeth day and night;' and at this hour a bustling trade goes on outside the temple gate in the precious fluid, brought from the holy river of Bengal in wicker-covered pitchers. They extended their influence far into the hill country, and one of the Tributary States still traces its foundation as a separate principality to a Bráhman, one thousand years ago. The first Aryan settlers, on the other hand, never were distinctively Sivaite. They emerge upon history as Buddhists, and at this moment they generally have a temple, not to Siva, but to some incarnation of Vishnu, the deity who formed the natural successor of Buddhism, as their village shrine.

For the time drew on when Siva-worship in Orissa was to give place to a new form of faith. The fat maggots and creeping parasites that breed in the warm comfort of a national creed, had eaten the religion of the Lion-line to the core. Priestly sloth had spread

[208] Sásans.

its fungus growth over the holy places, and the sanctuary began to be polluted by the abominations which form the reproach of the Hindu temples at the present day. Royalty connived at the scandal, and an inscription of about the eighth century speaks of beautiful women 'with eyes like the fickle wagtail, adorned with jewels, and with heavy swelling bosoms,' as the presents of a princess to the priests.[209] Siva-worship had reformers not less zealous and not less spiritually-minded than the line of apostles who, as we have seen in Chapter III., built up the Vishnuvite creed. But the history of Siva-worship in Orissa has nothing to do with these men. They belong to other provinces. The Sivaite priesthood represented here no spontaneous or natural outcome of the religious cravings of the people, but an exotic of royalty which flourished upon the Crown-lands, independently of the popular sympathy or of the popular support. While, therefore, the story of Jagannáth is interwoven with the religious history of the Province, the annals of Siva-worship in Orissa deal with little else than the building of temples and grants of lands to the priests. The temples and the rent-free estates remain as the most beautiful objects of the landscape at this day, but the people have found different leaders and other gods.

The earlier kings of the Lion-line held their court sometimes at Bhuvaneswar, the City of Temples to Siva, and sometimes at Jájpur, the City of his Priests on the holy river. But a warlike prince, who reigned from 953 to 961 A.D., perceived the military strength of the tongue of land where the Mahánadí first divides into its several branches, and founded Cattack, still the capital of the Province. He shut out the river by means of

[209] Journal As. Soc. vii. 562.

a masonry embankment several miles long, which at present consists of enormous blocks of hewn stone, in some places twenty-five feet high.[210] The second monarch in descent from him strengthened the new capital by an outlying fortress on the southern bank of the river, and thus commanded the various channels into which the Mahánadí, the highway between the hills and the plains, bifurcates. A century later, the reigning prince built the massive bridge by which the pilgrims enter Purí at this day.[211] A broad river then flowed beneath it, separating the sandy ridges of Jagannáth from the mainland, while an inner stream coursed through what is now the heart of the city. The bridge consists of masses of the red ferruginous stone, known to the geologers as laterite, the special peculiarities of which are its softness when first quarried, and the fact that it grows harder by exposure to the air.[212] The bridge spans 290 feet of water-way by means of eighteen arches; the central one being eighteen feet high by fourteen feet broad, and the piers eight feet by six. The Hindu architects did not at that time know how to turn an arch, but they had a device of their own scarcely less skilful; a device which they applied with exquisite plasticity, alike to the lofty towers of the temples, to the most delicate of balconies, and to the humblest gate-

[210] The name of the king was Makar Kesari, who ruled from 953 to 961, according to the Palm-leaf Record. He is the Markat Kesari of Stirling, who places his reign about thirty years later. It is doubtful whether the whole embankment was not renewed during the Mughul period. It is certain that many parts of it do not belong to an earlier date.

[211] Matsya Kesari by name. 1034 to 1050 A.D. according to the Palm-leaf Record, Purúshottama Chandriká, p. 33. Stirling ascribes the bridge to a later monarch, but he seems to confound the building of the bridge with the filling up of the channel beyond it by Kesari Narsinha, A.D. 1282–1307. Compare As. Res. xv. 274 with Purúshottama Chandriká, pp. 33 and 42.

[212] See Appendix V., Geological Account of Orissa.

way or river-crossing. It consists of laying horizontal tiers of stones one above the other, but each projecting slightly beyond the one below it, 'in the manner of inverted stairs, until they converge near enough at the top to sustain a keystone or cross-beam.'[218] The superincumbent mass behind weighs down the slight projection in front; and when well built, such arches are almost indestructible. Even after the keystone, with the whole of one side, has fallen, the other half stands self-supporting, and I was particularly struck with the proofs which a native builder in one of the Tributary Hill States adduced of their stability. It is necessarily a heavy style of architecture, but the artistic Hindu has succeeded in imparting to it a surprising degree of his own lithe and supple grace.



THE HINDU ARCH.

Meanwhile Buddhism was disappearing from India, and new creeds and mushroom dynasties rushed into the vacuum. At the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., a series of tribal movements took place among the mountain principalities that overlook the eastern coast. A fertile strip of rice land lay at their feet, and one Proli founded

[218] Stirling, As. Res. xv. 337. See also Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. ii. part iii. p. 549, etc.

a fine maritime kingdom at the expense of his neighbours. He seized the State on the south of Orissa, which now forms the northern part of the Madras Presidency,[214] forced the neighbouring princes to swell his expedition as feudatories, 'branded vanquished monarchs,' and took and gave away kingdoms with the high-handed munificence of an Indian potentate insecure of his tenure, but determined on building up his house while his power lasted.[215] His successors quarrelled over the inheritance, waged war on each other, burnt cities, and spread panic far and wide. But at length one of them acknowledged himself worsted, sued for his brother's protection, and received in fief the southern part of the kingdom, which ran inland from near the town of Madras to the great mountain range of Central India.[216] The victorious brother consolidated his power in the northern part of the family territory, retaining his father's capital, and subjecting the neighbouring States. In one of his expeditions he pushed his way into Orissa, and partly by war, partly by diplomacy, succeeded the childless monarch of the Lion-line in 1132, and so ended that dynasty.

The origin of the new dynasty remains a matter of dispute. The local legends point to the southern coast as the starting-point of the race; but evidence is not wanting to connect them with Bengal, and their family name, the Gangetic line,[217] appears to support this view.[218]

[214] Its capital was Arunakunda, the modern Warangul.

[215] Warangul Inscription. Journal As. Soc. vii. part ii. 903 et seq.

[216] In a north-westerly direction, from Conjevaram to the Vindhya Mountains.

[217] Ganga-Vansa.

[218] The Palm-leaf Record asserts that they came from the south (Purúshottama Chandriká, 35). The native annalist whose MS. work (Ráj-Charitra) Stirling used, follows on the same side, and Stirling adopts this view. (As. Res. xv. 267.) On the other hand, Mountstuart Elphinstone states that they were a dynasty of the Gangetic valley, and even localizes their original

The explanation may be, that the founder of the family[219] belonged to a Gangetic house, and carried the Vishnuvite doctrines from Bengal with him on his successful expedition to Southern India. But the weight of the evidence leans the other way, and indicates that he belonged to a southern dynasty which sent forth an expedition into Bengal. Certain it is, that on the partition of Proli's eastern sea-coast kingdom of Madras, the successful claimant, Chor-gangá by name, pushed northwards, obtained the sovereignty of Orissa, and paid royal honours to the Vishnuvite god. His memory survives in the name of one of the quarters of the holy city of Purí to this day.[220] To him the chroniclers assign the commencement on a regular plan of the Palm-leaf Records, and within half a century his successor had built and dedicated the existing temple to Jagannáth.

The first act of the new dynasty was to revolutionize the religion of Orissa. As its monarchs during the seven centuries before the accession of the Lion-line had been Buddhists, and as the Lion-line during the next seven centuries were Siva-worshippers; so during the past seven centuries, from the coming in of the new dynasty in 1132 down to the present day, the reigning house have been Vishnuvites. In each case the revolution was a gradual one; and in each the first evidence we have of the change, manifests itself not in any wholesale

kingdom as lying round Tamluk and Midnapur. (Hist. India, 243; Mr. Cowell's edition.) He supports his position by the authority of H. H. Wilson (Pref. to Mackenzie Papers, cxxxvii.). For an elaborate account, see Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. iv. 17–24, also pp. 5, 14, and 968 *passim*. Here, as elsewhere, I confine myself to stating the conclusion at which I have arrived, after considering the entire evidence.

219 Proli.

220 The Churang-Saí, with a large tank. Purúshottama Chandriká, 35. Chor-gangá also appears as Churang in the records.

conversion of the people, but in an outburst of dynastic activity in building temples to the new gods. Buddhism, however, fought longer against Siva-worship in the fifth century A.D. than the effete Siva-worship of the twelfth century could hold its own against Vishnuvism. Two centuries and four generations of the Lion-line passed away before they raised their great temple to the All-Destroyer. On the other hand, the new Vishnuvite dynasty had completed its shrine to Jagannáth in little more than half a century after its accession. Nevertheless, Siva-worship made some stand. As the early inscriptions of the Lion-line recognise the Lord Vishnu, although they specially extol Siva, so one of the most important of the stone writings of the new dynasty, dating about 1174 A.D., is devoted to the praise of Siva.[221] The two religions always co-existed, and representing as they do the two great instincts of the human soul, will continue to co-exist as long as Hinduism remains the creed of the Indian people. Under the Lion-line, Sivaism, the religion of terror, was the royal creed; but even before the accession of the new dynasty in 1132, Vishnu-worship had begun to assert the religion of a Divine Beneficence, and an inscription of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century extols the bright god.

Hitherto the external relations of Orissa had been with the south; but from the incoming of the Gangetic line a connection becomes visible between it and the adjoining province on the north. The founder of the dynasty appears from an inscription to have carried his arms into the western districts of Bengal, and to have sacked Bardwán, identified as the important city of

[221] Slab Inscription. Journal As. Soc. vi. 285.

that name on the East Indian Railway.[222] As already mentioned, his race bore a dynastic title strongly indicative of a family intercourse with the Gangetic valley; indeed, his son is called the Lord of the Ganges,[223] and the Palm-leaf Record plainly asserts that the territory of the latter king reached from the Godávarí right up to the Gangetic valley. This statement is borne out by other evidence;[224] and there can be little doubt that, under the first vigorous princes of the new dynasty in the twelfth century, the pre-historic monarchy of Kalinga was again gathered up into one kingdom, embracing the whole eastern coast of India from the delta of the great river of Bengal to the delta of the great river of Madras.

Nor are the memorials which the early kings of the Gangetic line have left behind them unworthy of so vast a territory. The temple at Jagannáth has already been described, but it falls far short of the marvellous structure which rose in honour of the Sun fifty years later. In Orissa, as everywhere throughout India, the thirteenth century witnessed the last great efforts of Hindu art. From 900 to 1300 A.D. architecture was the ruling passion of Indian princes, not less than of European kings.[225] These were the four building centuries of the Indo-Germanic race, and the same age produced the masterpieces alike of Gothic and of Hindu art. In both continents the national passion lavished itself not on

[222] Vardhamána. At one time this identification seemed to me doubtful, although supported by the best authorities; but neither my own list of Indian towns, numbering between four and five thousand, nor my friend Mr. Blochmann's catalogue of mediæval names, contains any other place that could be so reasonably identified with the Vardhamána of the Warangul Inscription. Journal As. Soc. vii. 903 et seq.

[223] Gangeswara reigned 1152–1156 A.D. Purúshottama Chandriká, 36.

[224] Cf. Stirling, As. Res. xv. 270.

[225] Mr. Fergusson's Hist. Arch. vol. ii. book iv. 548.

the palaces of the monarchs, but on the temples of the gods. In India, architectural talent reached its meridian with tropical swiftness, and began to wane a full century before the graver Gothic taste of Europe betrayed the first symptoms of decline. The slender-pointed arches of the Western cathedrals of the fourteenth century, the elaborate but still controlled ornamentation of their roofs, their enriched doorways, and the exquisite tracery of their windows, were the mature flowering of four hundred years of sober growth. Indian architecture, on the other hand, had lost much of its purity and simplicity before the commencement of the twelfth century, and had reached the maximum of ornamentation compatible with the canons of art early in the thirteenth.[226] The works of this period surpass in their rich and luscious beauty anything that I have seen in Europe. Expiring Buddhism had effected its last great compromise with Vishnu-worship, and the two combined to supplant the terrors of Sivaism by a religion of beauty. In the old settled and strongly Aryan Provinces, the composite creed took the highly spiritual form of Jainism. In other parts it became Vishnuvism either pure and simple, or Sun-worship, or some incarnation of the bright Vishnuvite god. Thus in Gujrát, between 1197 and 1247 A.D., two brothers built the exquisite marble temple on Mount Abu, the richest effort of Jain devotion, which, 'for delicacy of carving and minute labour of detail, stands almost unrivalled even in

[226] I have been tempted by my notes in Eastern, Northern, and Western India, and by Mr. Fergusson's own illustrations, to place the meridian of Hindu architecture somewhere later than he does in his Hist. vol. ii. 548; but this in no way lessens my obligations to his delightful and admirable writings, and may very probably be the result of my narrower field of observation.

this land of patient and lavish labour.'[227] During the latter of these same years the reigning monarch of the Gangetic line[228] reared the lovely pile that now overlooks the Bay of Bengal at Kanárak, the temple of the Sun, whose luscious ornamentation forms at once the glory and the disgrace of Orissa art.

It is but a fragment, never completed, and more than half fallen into ruins. At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it,[229] exactly as Siva and Vishnu have their well-demarcated 'regions,' but also by the rock writings. It formed one of the corruptions into which Buddhism early fell, and an inscription of the fourth or fifth century designates the Buddhistic king who excavated the cave as 'the worshipper of the Sun.'[230]

Its connection with Vishnuvism makes itself felt in myths and legends. The existence of the temple of the Sun at Kanárak, which is the only one I know of, either in the Gangetic or the Orissa delta, is accounted for by the following story:—A son of Vishnu[231] having accidentally looked on one of his father's nymphs in her bath, was stricken with leprosy. The Indian Actæon went forth into banishment; but, more fortunate than the grandson of Cadmus, while wandering on the lonely shore of Orissa, was cured by the divine rays of the sun.

[227] Mr. Fergusson's Hist. Arch. ii. 622.

[228] Lánguliyá Narasinha, 1237–1282 A.D. Purúshottama Chandriká, 41.

[229] The Arka Kshetra. Kanárak, the site of the temple, signifies *Kona* + *arka*, the corner of the Sun, or the corner of Arka-Kshetra, *i.e.* the corner of the region of Orissa dedicated to the Sun

[230] Journal As. Soc. vi. 1074.

[231] In his incarnation of Krishna.

He raised a temple on the scene of the miracle, and to this day the Hindu believes that a leper who with a single mind worships the bright deity will be healed of his infirmity. The Sun's charioteer is the brother of the bird of Vishnu, and the peculiar polygonal columns of Orissa are equally raised in honour of both the gods; the only difference being, that the Sun pillars are surmounted by his charioteer, and the Vishnuvite ones by the sacred vulture. The Sun is the natural object of adoration for an unrevealed religion. It seems in one age or another to have been the universal deity of the East, and it was the most beautiful of the bright Grecian gods. From time to time there have been revivals of Sun-worship on the largest scale, such as that which took place throughout the Roman Empire towards the end of the third century A.D., and which, under Diocletian, not only gave a new life to Paganism, but introduced a deadly heresy into the Christian Church.[282] In the twelfth century, when Buddhism was finally resolving itself into the composite creeds which succeeded it, a similar revival seems to have taken place in Orissa. Buddhism left behind it three heirs to the popular faith: the Vishnu-worship, which was destined for the next seven centuries to be the religion of the province; Jain-worship, which still maintains a flickering existence in the little shrine on the summit of the cave-honeycombed hill;[283] and Sun-worship, for which the lovely ruins at Kanárak were designed.

Sun-worship is a creed little susceptible of material representation. Nevertheless its architectural remains

[282] Hermogenes confounded the Sun of Righteousness with the visible orb, and taught that Christ had put off His incarnate body in the Sun.

[283] At Khandgiri, described in a previous part of this chapter.

survive in several parts of Orissa. I have mentioned that even in Jájpur, the ancient capital of the Sivaite dynasty, the flight of steps by which the pilgrims descend into the Hindu Styx exhibits a granite bas-relief of the Sun God seated on his celestial car, and drawn by seven prancing horses. I found a similar sculpture among the almost unknown ruins of Shergarh, and the Sun God in his golden chariot appears among the divinities which my native artist has figured for me as the objects of popular adoration in Orissa. Both there and in Bengal, the Bráhmans daily repeat a prayer to the Sun after bathing; and the stricter sort of Vishnu-worshippers refrain from animal food on the first day of the week, which bears the name of Sunday alike in England and India.[234] The common people on the plains merely bow to the orb after their morning ablutions; but in the highlands[235] to the north-west of Orissa, the low castes do not break their fast till they catch a clear view of the deity, and in cloudy weather have sometimes to remain a day without food. During the whole harvest month,[236] each Sunday brings round weekly solemnities in honour of the bright god. Every village household prepares a tray covered with earth, into which rice seeds are dropped. Little earthenware cups containing pure water are placed upon it, and on Sundays the family priest goes through a few simple rites, pouring a libation of fresh water upon the tray, and invoking the Sun.[237] All Bengal celebrates the Sun's entry into Capri-

[234] Rabibár (Ravi-vár).

[235] *e.d.* in Mánbhum and the western borders of Bánkurá. I have already referred to a similar rite in the Himálayas.

[236] Agrahayan, falling within our November and December.

[237] Ritu-pújá, literally season-worship. The priest must be a Bráhman, and in Bráhman households any member who has received the thread may officiate.

corn[238] by fairs, and the great gathering at Ságar at the mouth of the Huglí takes place on that day.

But the primitive fire-worship of the Veda has long ago given place to the more materialistic superstitions of modern Hinduism, and sun-worshippers, properly so called,[239] are unknown in Lower Bengal. Little settlements of them, however, still survive in Orissa. They keep alive the undying fire, and celebrate the primitive ceremonies; offering a burnt sacrifice of clarified butter in their houses morning and evening, and adhering to the archaic terms of the Vedic ritual. At the full moon they meet together for public adoration in some retired grove. Such a grove, rugged and torn by many an ancient cyclone, I visited on the outskirts of Jájpur. A colony of fire-worshippers there celebrates its rites on a masonry platform, near to a little temple to the Lord of the Peaceful,[240] the feathery palm foliage waving overhead, and the air heavy with the perfume of flowering trees.

One of the legendary chronologies of Orissa, indeed, gives a detailed account of a line of Sun Kings. It intercalates this dynasty between the Lion Race and the Gangetic or Vishnuvite Line. The former, according to the generally received lists, succeeded the Yavanas in 474 A.D., and gave place to the Gangetic Line in 1132. But a subsequently compiled list[241] makes the Lion Line begin in 132 B.C., and end in 655 A.D. It fills in the next seven centuries by a Sun Dynasty of eighteen kings, who last to 1324 A.D., when the Gangetic Line succeeds. This chronology forms one of

[238] On the last day of the month of Paus. [239] Sauras.

[240] Sánteswara, a name of Siva.

[241] The Vansávali, found among Mr Stirling's posthumous papers, and printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1837. Vol. vi. part ii. 756 et seq.

many attempts by the Jagannáth record-keepers to magnify their own deity. It says nothing about the Yavana or Buddhist occupation, and cuts down the Siva Dynasty of the Lion Line from forty-four to eight monarchs. On the other hand, it gives a detailed account of a series of pre-historic adventures of Jagannáth, and manufactures the Legend of the Log into a grave narrative of dates and reigns, which it fills with portents and fables. Throughout it displays the two trade-marks of modern Bráhman workmanship,—the tendency to throw back its dates as far as possible into antiquity, and a constant effort to maintain the importance of the priests. The king who reigned in 1128 B.C. invented wheeled carriages, ships, and water-mills; organized the system of local cesses[212] which we found existing in the country, and maintained 752 poets at his Court. It furnishes the most astonishing numbers with absolute precision, and unrolls all antiquity before our incredulous eyes. A pious monarch of 2287 B.C. digs wells and tanks; a later one subdues eight demons by enchantment in 1475 B.C., but eventually turns out to be our old friend Vikramáditya, who belongs at earliest to the beginning of the Christian era. Nor do marvels cease even when we come to historic times. The sovereign who reigned 1032–1059 A.D. vowed he would marry a hundred thousand wives, but unfortunately died of paralysis just as he reached his sixty thousandth. His successor is suspected to have had a tail.

During the two following reigns terrible famines occurred, ending in a darkness which covered the earth for seven days, 1107–1143 A.D. According to this chronology, the Sun monarchs began by banishing all the

[212] Sáyer.

gods of the Siva Line, except the dread wife of the deity. Its first king founded the Jagannáth archives in 565–655 A.D. Its second conquered the whole country from the Ganges to the Godávarí. Its fourth rebuilt the Temple of Jagannáth, 901 A.D. The eighth built that to the Sun at Kanárak, 1059 A.D. A later one introduced the great boat festival of Jagannáth, and the whole dynasty seems to have oscillated between Sun-worship and the Vishnuvite god. Stirling more moderately gives a Sun Dynasty of six kings, beginning A.D. 1236 with the monarch who built the Sun Temple, and ending in 1451.[213]

The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Kanárak upon the Orissa shore. Built, according to the most trustworthy records, between 1237 and 1282 A.D., shortly after the triumph of the graceful Vishnuvite creed, it concentrates in itself the accumulated beauties of the four architectural centuries among the Hindus. Notwithstanding the indecent sculptures which disgrace its exterior wall, it forms the climax of Bengal art, and wrung an unwilling tribute even from the Muhammadans. My great predecessor in the work of writing District Accounts, Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, speaks of it about the year 1580 in the following terms:—'Near to Jagannáth is the Temple of the Sun, in the erection of which was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one can behold this immense edifice without being struck with amazement. The wall which surrounds the whole is 150 hands high, and 19 hands[214]

[213] The Dynastic name of the family was Bhánu, and the name of the line the Súrjya-Vansá.

[214] Gladwin says cubits, but the word in the original is *dast*. In the

thick. In the front of the gate is a pillar of black stone of an octagonal form, 50 yards high. There are nine flights of steps, after ascending which you come to an extensive open space,[245] where you discover a large arch[246] constructed of stone, upon which are carved the sun and stars. Around them is a border where are represented a variety of worshippers of all tribes, some standing on their heads, some sitting, some prostrated, some laughing, some weeping, some bewildered, some sensible, together with minstrels and a number of strange and wonderful animals, such as never existed but in imagination. There are twenty-eight other temples near to this pagoda, and they are all reported to have performed miracles.'

The great temple alone survives, and even it seems never to have been completed, as the foundation of the internal pillars on which the heavy dome rested gave way before the outer halls were finished.[247] A perfect jungle of legends soon sprung up with a view to explain the desertion of so costly and beautiful a shrine. It formed a landmark along the coast which ships still sight on their passage up the Bay; and inaccuracy in the bearings, or neglect to use the lead, constantly wrecked vessels on the shore.[248] The villagers explained such

following sentence he also gives cubits for yards (*gaz*). His excellent translation will be found in As. Res. xv. 328, and I follow it, except in seven inaccuracies, of which the above are examples.

[245] In the original text, *çihn*.

[246] Ták.

[247] I am indebted for this explanation to Babu Rájendra Lála Mitra, to whose forthcoming work on the Architecture of Orissa I would again refer the reader for measurements and scientific details. Stirling, in his account of this temple, is less trustworthy than in the other portions of his valuable essay. He gives the traditional date of 1241 for the building of the edifice. Mr. Fergusson, in his History of Architecture, overlooks the fourfold character of the chambers in Hindu Temples. See my Ground Plan of Jagannáth, *ante*, p. 129.

[248] Even Captain Horsburgh nearly met with this mishap. See his Sailing Directions, p. 581, quarto, 1852.

mishaps by a story of a huge lodestone[249] on the summit of the tower, which, like Sinbad the Sailor's rock, drew the unhappy ships on the sands; and they circumstantially relate how a Musalmán crew at length scaled the temple, and carried off the fatal magnet.[250] The priests, they say, forthwith abandoned the desecrated shrine, and migrated with their god to Purí. Certain it is that the great shrine at Purí has a little temple to the Sun within its all-embracing walls, and the exquisite polygonal tower which Abul Fazl mentions as outside the Kanárak edifice now stands in front of the Lion-gate of Jagannáth. The delicate proportions of this monolith may be judged of from the accompanying plate. I found another, of nearly equal beauty, although of much more modern workmanship, outside a temple in one of the loneliest parts of the Delta.[251] A third column of the same type, but dedicated to Vishnu, and formerly surmounted by his sacred vulture, has survived the iconoclastic ravages of the Musalmáns at Jájpur, and half a century ago such pillars were common throughout Orissa. They resemble the Buddhist columns;[252] and in this, as in its rosaries, monastic attitudes, and laws of ornamentation, Hinduism, and especially Vishnu-worship, borrowed its architecture from the ancient monotheistic faith.

The Sun Temple at Kanárak now forms a picturesque ruin looking down upon the sea. It lies nineteen miles north-west of Jagannáth, and will well repay a visit from any lover of art. On the 4th February 1870, I started from Purí about midnight by palanquin, and reached Kanárak at daybreak. We found our tents

249 Kumbha-páthar.
250 As. Res. xv. 327.
251 At Kendrápárá, between the Orissa Sundarban jungles and Jájpur.
252 Láts.

AN ORISSA SUN PILLAR

(now outside the Gate of Jagannath)



pitched under three fine old banyan trees fifty yards from the temple, on the skirt of a grove of cocoa nuts, palms, and mangoes, from amid which two ancient shrines peeped out. A jungle of delicate-leafed shrubs of the citron tribe lay in front of the dilapidated pile, and the roar of the sea came faintly over the sandy ridges which lay between us and the shore. No traces of the outer wall remain, the Marhattá officers having carried away the stones as building materials to Purí; and of the temple, which in a complete state would have consisted of four[253] chambers, only a single one, the Hall of Audience, survives. Its great doorway facing the east is blocked up by masses of stone and festooned with creepers. In front rises a huge mound of jungle-covered rubbish, the remains of the outer Hall of Offerings. Sculptures in high relief, exquisitely cut, but of an indecent character, cover the exterior walls, and bear witness to an age when Hindu artists worked from nature. The nymphs are beautifully shaped women, in luscious attitudes; the elephants move along at the true elephant trot, and kneel down in the stone exactly as they did in life. Some of the latter have, however, the exaggerated ear and conventional mouth of modern Hindu sculpture, and the lions must have been altogether evolved from the artists' inner consciousness. Each of the four doorways, on the north, south, east, and west, has two lintels of chlorite, a bluish slate-like stone, very hard, and exquisitely polished. On these lintels rest two massive beams of iron supporting the wall above. The eastern entrance was till lately surmounted, as in other Orissa temples, by a chlorite slab, on which the emblems of the seven days of the week, with the ascend-

[253] *Vide ante*, p. 129.

ing and descending nodes, are carved.[254] The beauty of this elaborate piece proved to it a more fatal enemy than time itself, and tempted English antiquarians to try to remove it by sea to the Museum at Calcutta. A grant of public money was obtained, but it sufficed only to drag the massive block a couple of hundred yards, where it now lies, quite apart from the temple, and as far as ever from the shore. The builders of the twelfth century had excavated it in the quarries of the Hill States, and carried it by a land journey across swamps and over unbridged rivers, for a distance of eighty miles.

I can only describe Kanárak as a ruin; but lovely as it still is, it presented beauties half a century ago that have now disappeared. Mr. Stirling visited it about 1820, and has left behind him the following tasteful account: 'The skill and labour of the best artists seem to have been reserved for the finely polished slabs of chlorite which line and decorate the outer faces of the doorways. The whole of the sculpture on these figures, comprising men and animals, foliage and arabesque patterns, is executed with a degree of taste, propriety, and freedom, which would stand a comparison with some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornaments. The workmanship remains, too, as perfect as if it had just come from the chisel of the sculptor, owing to the extreme hardness and durability of the stone. A triangular niche over each doorway was once filled with a figure cut in alto-relievo, emblematic of the deity of the place, being that of a youth in a sitting posture, holding in each hand a stalk of the true lotus, the expanded flowers of which are turned towards him. Each archi-

[254] The Nava-graha described in next paragraph.

trave has, as usual, the Nava-graha, or nine Bráhmanical planets, very finely sculptured in alto-relievo. Five of them are well-proportioned figures of men with mild and pleasing countenances, crowned with high pointed caps, and seated cross-legged on the lotus, engaged in religious meditation. One hand bears a vessel of water, and the fingers of the other are counting over the beads of a rosary which hangs suspended. The form of the planet which presides over Thursday (Vrihaspati or Jupiter) is distinguished from the others by a flowing, majestic beard. Friday, or Venus, is a youthful female, with a plump, well-rounded figure. Ketu, the descending node, is a Triton whose body ends in the tail of a fish or dragon; and Ráhu, or the ascending node, a monster all head and shoulders, with a grinning, grotesque countenance, frizzly hair dressed like a full-blown wig, and one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw. In one hand he holds a hatchet, and in the other a fragment of the moon.'[255]

Among the life-sized pieces, elephants crouch in terror under rampant lions, while mutilated human figures lie crushed beneath the flat, pulpy feet of the elephants. Clubmen, griffins, warriors on prancing horses, colossal figures of grotesque and varied shape, stand about in silent stony groups. The elephants have the flabby under-lips of nature, and exhibit a uniformity in all the essential points of their anatomy, with a variety in posture and detail, which Hindu art has long forgotten. Two colossal horses guard the southern façade, one perfect, the other with his neck broken and otherwise shattered. The right hand stallion has a Roman nose, prominent eyes, nostrils not too open, and in other re-

[255] As. Res. xv. 332. Serampur, 1825.

spects carved from a well-bred model; excepting the jowl, which is bridled in close upon the neck, making the channel too narrow,—a mistake which I have also noticed in the ancient sculptures of Italy and Greece. The legs, too, have a fleshy and conventional look. He is very richly caparisoned with bosses and bands round the face, heavy chain armour on the neck, tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs, and a tasselled breast-band which keeps the saddle in position. The saddle resembles the mediæval ones of Western chivalry, with a high pummel and well-marked cantle, but has a modern girth, consisting of a single broad band clasped by a buckle outside the fringe of a sumptuous saddle-cloth. The stirrup irons are round, like those of our own cavalry. A scabbard for a short Roman sword hangs down on the left, a quiver filled with feathered arrows on the right, while a groom adorned with necklaces and breast jewels runs at the horse's head, holding the bridle. The fierce war-stallion has stamped down two of the enemy; not kicking or prancing, but fairly trampling them into the earth. These appear to be Rákshasas or aborigines, from their woolly hair, tiger-like mouths and tusks, and their short curved swords like the national Gurkhá weapon,[256] half bill-hook, half-falchion, and equally suited for ripping up a foe, or for cutting a path through the jungle. They wear heavy armlets, but no defensive armour, excepting a round shield made of several plies of metal richly carved, with a boss in the centre, and tassels or tufts of hair hanging down from it. The shields appear to have borne some heraldic device, and the most perfect of them still exhibits two lizards climbing up on either side of the boss, done to

[256] Kukuri.

the life. Such *quasi*-armorial bearings frequently appear in Orissa. Stirling noticed one at Bhuvaneswar in 1820, and the chiefs of the adjoining Tributary States have each a heraldic device or emblem of signature, handed down in their families from remote generations.[257]

A pyramid-shaped roof rises by terraces of exquisitely carved granite to a lotus-crowned pinnacle. Viewed from below, this lofty expanse of masonry looks as if one could not place a finger on an unsculptured inch. I clambered up to it by means of a vast pile of stones, the ruins of the Towered Sanctuary to which the existing hall only formed an outer chamber; forcing my way through the jungle of camelia-leafed creepers and flowering shrubs which clothe its desolation, and from which rose clouds of brown feathery butterflies fringed with white. Every now and then a hawk started screaming from the mingled mass of foliage and masonry, and after a dart into space returned in converging circles, hoping to pounce on one of the doves which kept cooing and rustling inside the Temple. The monkeys dashed about, now holding on by one hand to a projecting figure, and swinging their bodies over into the air; then burying themselves behind clusters of ivy-like creepers, chattering and grinning to the full circumference of their white teeth. The roof rises by three tiers, each consisting of a number of receding layers of masonry. It forms, as it were, three lofty flights of steps, covered with elephants, horses, cavalry, and foot-soldiers, in endless processions. Innumerable luscious busts of nymphs stand out from the mass of carving, while images of the four-headed Brahmá look towards the sea, and shed the sanction of religion

[257] See my Stat. Account of Trib. States, App. III.; also As. Res. xv. 310, and Trans. Bombay Asiatic Soc. i. 217, etc.

on the aerial sculptured world. The favourite musical instruments of the thirteenth century among the Hindus seem to have been the guitar, the little drum,[258] and the cymbals, just as at the present day. The nymphs are rather over life size, with swelling breasts, full throats, and delicately retreating heads, models of voluptuous womanhood, passionate creations in stone. They wear their hair in enormous chignons, projecting horizontally from behind. A head-dress falls in graceful festoons across both temples, ending in a golden boss at either ear, from which hang elaborate earrings. Their necklaces consist of many plies of the Tulsi bead, and fall in a triangular shape upon the bosom. Each arm has a handsome bracelet just below the shoulder, and a still more elaborate one at the elbow. Their ornaments—ornaments so abundant, however, as to form a sort of clothing—supply their only drapery above the waist, which a girdle of many folds encircles. From this, a garment of gauzy muslin falls upon the limbs, but scarcely conceals their delicate curves. The whole is carved in reddish granite highly polished, and just enough touched by time to give a softness to the sweet profiles and voluptuous busts which stand out against the blue sky.

If all this ungrudging labour was lavished on merely the Outer Chamber, we may judge of the magnificence of the Towered Sanctuary, whose ruins now form the jungle-covered hill behind. This inner edifice, if it was ever completed, finds no place in Abul Fazl's description, and had probably tumbled down before his day (1580 A.D.). But its size may be inferred from the proportions of other temples belonging to the same order, and a restored elevation of it will be found in Mr. James

[258] Nágara.

Fergusson's delightful work.[259] The enormous pyramidal roof of the still existing Outer Chamber rests on walls sixty feet high,[260] and rises other sixty-four feet above them. It furnishes an admirable illustration of the Hindu Arch as applied to roofing, and consists of layers of masonry each projecting a little beyond the one below it, like inverted stairs, and so converging eventually at the top. Hindu architecture, from its very commencement in Orissa, 500 A.D., seems to have had an unlimited command of iron; but the metal clamps upon which the builders of the City of Temples in the sixth century so much depended, are here more sparingly used. The architects of the twelfth century trusted to their improved mechanical appliances for lifting enormous weights, and kept the converging layers of the roof in position by the mass of masonry behind. They handled their colossal beams of iron and stone with as much ease and plasticity as modern workmen put up pine-rafters, and fitted in blocks of twenty to thirty tons with absolute precision at a height of eighty feet. The lower part of the roof, however, was supported not only by the superincumbent mass behind, but also by enormous monolithic pillars forty feet high. The sandy ridge, the only foundation which the architect could find so near the shore, yielded under these vast blocks. By degrees the columns sank, and the inner layers of the roof, thus deprived of part of the support on which they depended, came down with a crash. The ruins now lie heaped upon the floor, a gigantic chaos; and the contrast between their unwieldy bulk, and the laborious sculpture which covers almost

[259] Hist. Arch. ii. 591, ed. 1867.

[260] In the time of Stirling, As. Res. xv. 329. The accumulations around their base have now decreased their height.

every square inch outside, forces on the memory Bishop Heber's criticism, that the Indians built like Titans, and finished like jewellers.

The pyramidal temple roof forms one of the most typical features of the religious architecture of the Hindus. In the Outer Chambers the overlapping national arch is manipulated into a gently converging apex; in the Towered Sanctuaries it takes the shape, so to speak, of a conical dome.[261] In the former the pyramidal roof requires the internal support of pillars, and sometimes also of colossal rafters of iron. But in the latter the roof converges more slowly into a cone, and the weight behind sustains the overlapping of each successive tier of masonry. The Hindus never could form a perfect dome till the Muhammadans taught them to turn the arch, but they formed a conical dome almost as plastic and as enduring as the true circular one. Even in the Outer Chamber of the Sun Temple, when the pillars had fallen down, the massive blocks of the roof sufficed by their own weight to sustain their pyramidal converging tiers.

Sun-worship in Orissa formed one of the religions into which Buddhism disintegrated; a religion of the Vishnuvite type, identified with the Vishnuvite Dynasty, opposed to the dark rites of the Sivaite kings, and destined, after running a brief but beautiful course, to give place to the warmer form of Vishnuvism represented by Jagannáth. From the earliest times, Vishnuvism and Sun-worship stand together in close affinity; indeed, in the Vedas, Vishnu, who afterwards developed into the second deity of the Hindu Triad, appears only as a form of the Sun.[262] We catch the last glimpse of Orissa Sun-

261 See Elevation Plan of Jagannáth, *ante*, p. 81.

262 Prof. Cowell's Appendix VII. to Elphinstone, 279, ed. 1866.

worship in the Royal Annals of the fourteenth century; and after that date Jagannáth remains supreme, or with only the languid rivalry of the Bráhman colonies whom the Sivaite Line had settled on rent-free grants. But although it ceases to appear in the Temple archives or royal chronologies, Sun-worship did not wholly cease in Orissa, and I have described one of its secluded groups of votaries. Its general tendency, however, was to fly before the incoming superstitions of Bengal. To the southward the Sun-worshippers form a recognised class of Bráhmans in the Districts adjoining Orissa; and when driven out of the plains it finds an asylum in the hills. I have mentioned that the low-caste highlanders to the north-west of Orissa will not break their fast till they catch a clear view of the deity, and Sun-worship still continues a specialty of the aboriginal races on the Central Plateau.[268]

Purí had asserted its fame as a sanctuary for a full century before Sun-worship disappears from the royal chronologies. We have seen in Chapter III. how the fourth monarch of the Gangetic or Vishnuvite Line built the great Purí Temple, 1175–1198. Five years later, when the Muhammadans first conquered Lower Bengal, the Musalmán annalists relate that the last Hindu King of that country fled to Jagannáth, A.D. 1204, devoted his remaining years to religion, and died within the sacred precincts. The fame of the Sanctuary reached the distant Court at Gaur; and shortly after, 1212 A.D., the Persian Governor of Bengal swept down upon Orissa and extorted tribute.

Buddhism, Sivaism, Sun-worship, thus each in turn became the prominent faith of the Province, and after a time gave place to some other creed. Jagannáth was

[268] Gazetteer of Central Provinces, cxxiii., 275, etc., ed. 1870.

destined to hold a more permanent sway; and his priests, by skilfully working upon the Indian passion for pilgrimage, have for six centuries made Orissa the Terra Sancta of the Hindus. He owes his long reign to that plasticity which admits the whole Hindu pantheon within his walls, and which during six hundred years has ever instinctively accommodated itself to the changing spirit of the times. In the very act of superseding Sun-worship and Sivaism, his priests built temples to the wife of the All-Destroyer, and to the Sun, within his sacred Courts. A truly Aryan deity, he commanded the adoration of the upper classes. At the same time he enlisted the sympathies of the low castes by the equal sacrament of the Holy Food, and by a mythology which exalted a despised fowler into the revealer of the god. By the ingenious device of successive incarnations, Vishnu has made himself the centre of a whole cycle of religious systems, and secured the adoration of many races, belonging to widely separated stages of civilisation. Without losing his own identity, he assimilated the attributes of nine of the most popular gods, and his priests keep a tenth incarnation in their hands; a weapon which they may yet utilize to bring the gross superstitions of the people into accord with the theism which English education has now disseminated among the upper classes. In this way Vishnuvism has always been able to effect a revolution in religion according to due course of law. It has constantly gone on adding and superadding to its original ideal, building new temples to new gods without having to pull down the old ones, and combining the most radical innovations with the most unalterable conservatism.

Of this religious syncretism Jagannáth forms the ultimate result. He has assimilated to himself a wider

range of attributes than any of the gods of Rome or Greece; wider by far, for example, than even Diana,—the free-hearted huntress in Arcadia, the stately Asiatic deity at Ephesus, the Tauric Goddess, the Lydian Great Mother with her oriental mysticism and secret rites. In a former Chapter I have dwelt at such length on the catholicity of Jagannáth, that few words must suffice here. While on the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature he claims to be identical with Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, he stands forth the hero of the Warrior Caste, as Ráma in his seventh incarnation; and has drawn to himself the sympathies of the pastoral races, as Krishna the eighth appearance of Vishnu upon earth. Krishna, the Divine Herdsman, is the incarnation which specially appeals to woodland or pastoral peoples, and which has chiefly attracted them to Vishnu-worship. These races have always ranked below the Aryans, and are now despised as aborigines or inferior castes. Yet their allegiance to Vishnuvism has been skilfully obtained, by identifying one of their national deities with the bright Aryan god. On the Central Plateau, Krishna is the god of the pastoral races. He was the ancient object of adoration among the Shepherd Kings;[264] and to this day, whenever a religious movement takes place among the low castes or aboriginal tribes, it is towards the Divine Herdsman that it gravitates. Such a revival took place half a century ago among the most despised race of the Central Provinces,[265] and I find a similar movement at present in progress among the wine-sellers and publicans of Eastern Bengal.[266] As Sivaism appealed to the terrors

[264] Mr. Grant's Central Provinces. Introd. lx., lxii., etc.

[265] *Idem*, cxxix.; referred to at greater length in one of Mr. Carnac the Cotton Commissioner's Papers.

[266] The Suris of Faridpur, Dacca, etc. During my tour in 1870.

of the aboriginal races, and their craving after wild religious excitement and expiatory sacrifices, so Krishna-worship attracted their sympathies as foresters and herdsmen. These religions spring up wherever Hinduism subjugates the wild tribes. With them also is frequently Jainism, or some other form of the ancient Buddhistic faith; and the three distinct types may be found co-existing separately and inimically in the most secluded retreats of the Central Provinces.[267] Jagannáth has had the art to concentrate these three types within his own walls, and has derived additional strength from each.

Nor is his empire based solely upon the superstitions of the populace. The religious history of India forms a phantasmagoria of shifting creeds, which struggle to show forth the One Supreme to mankind, each in turn revealing the central Unit at first in a bright light, which gradually becomes fainter and more faint until the original ideal fades away. The task of conceiving a Being absolute, infinite, and yet a personality, presents insuperable difficulties to unaided reason. Such attributes involve a contradiction in terms, which human speech finds itself powerless to handle, and which no arguments can smooth away. The religions of the ancient world accordingly oscillated between a too abstract conception of the infinity of God, and a too vivid realization of his personality. The Greeks grasped strongly at his personality, and became polytheists; the Hindus insisted too exclusively upon his infinity, and became pantheists; with an ultimate retreat into atheism, the highest pantheism of logical minds.[268] The earliest Indian thinkers

[267] Thus in Mándhátá, an island in the Narbadá. *Vide* Deputy Commissioner of Nimar's Article, Gazetteer of Central Prov., pp. 257–265, ed. 1870.

[268] Dr. Mansel, following Hegel and Schleiermacher, has well touched on this in his Bampton Lectures, I. and V.

struggled to project their minds beyond the practicable limits of religious thought, and to express in words that august primal Unit which combines the Absolute and the Infinite of European metaphysics. Such a flight was far beyond the popular apprehension, and the reformers who during the last six centuries from time to time revived the religious spirit in India, have more wisely submitted to the limits of religious thought. On the one hand, they have seen that the Infinite and Absolute One is a conception not to be explained by human speech, but to be silently and inconclusively pondered over by the human soul. On the other, they have felt that a practical popular faith must realize the personality as well as the infinity of God. They therefore surrounded the central idea with attributes; and these attributes being seized upon by the tropical multitude, have in time become the objects of popular adoration, to the exclusion of the Infinite Being whom they were intended only to shadow forth. Thus it results that no Indian reformation has been permanent. In each a process of materializing has soon begun, so that in the course of a few generations the original conception is lost sight of, and the necessity for a new reformation returns.

Jagannáth has by his rare plasticity attracted to himself all the great Vishnuvite reformers during the last six hundred years.[269] Such reformations tried to bring back the populace to the worship of one God, under the name of Vishnu. Generally speaking, they did not absolutely deny the existence of the other deities of the Hindu pantheon, but represented them as emanations from Vishnu, the One Supreme. This arrangement

[269] See Chapter III.

allows of a wide catholicity. By making Brahmá and Siva the offspring of Vishnu, it practically retains the orthodox triad, and merely transposes the chief seat of honour within it.[270] Jagannáth does the same thing in a more practical way, and clothes this conception of a catholic reformation in its most material and most fascinating garb. His priests have, however, adopted the ignoble as well as the spiritual elements of the rival creeds, and the result is that jumble of superstitious rites with lofty conceptions which I have already described, and of which the Car Festival forms a striking illustration. As the three blocks which serve for idols within the sanctuary are simple copies of the Buddhist triad,[271] so their Car Festival represents in a modern form the procession of the Sacred Tooth to its rural shrine.[272] This primitive ceremony of a monotheistic faith, which absolutely forbade the shedding of blood, and held sacred the life of the humblest insect, has for centuries been associated in the English mind with human immolation and suicide. How foreign such sacrifices were to the fundamental worship of Jagannáth, I have already explained.[273] But popular beliefs generally rest upon some basis of truth; and before finally leaving the subject, it may be well to trace the growth of the evil reputation of Jagannáth.

[270] For example, the great reformation of Mahdavacharjya in the thirteenth century A.D. Mr. Carmichael's Vizagapatam, p. 58; and the Madras Reprint of Buchanan's Journey, 1870.

[271] Buddha, Dharmma, and Sangha, take the form of Jagannáth, Subhadrá, and Balbhadrá; and these latter figures still represent the Bráhmanical Avatár of Buddha in the Mathurá and Benares Almanacs. See *ante*, p. 129; and General Cunningham upon Hiouen Thsang, Anc. Geog. India, i. 510, ed. 1871.

[272] See *ante*, pp. 131, 132.

[273] *Ante*, p. 134.

Gibbon has contrasted the free resort to suicide by the patriots of the ancient world, with 'the pious servitude' which Christianity has in this respect imposed upon modern Europe.[274] But even these restraints were of slow growth and of uncertain efficacy, as the jurisprudence of the early Civilians and the suicidal mania of the heterodox African Christians in the fourth century attest.[275] The Eastern religions, as a rule, allow a man power over his own life, and some of the Indian creeds encourage an act which hastens the final absorption of the human soul into the Deity. Such a religious suicide stands out as one of the great facts in the early intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks; and the self-immolation of the Bráhman Kalanos,[276] who truly prophesied the death of Alexander, and then calmly mounted his own funeral pile, has left a lasting impress on Macedonian history. The tendency to such acts reaches its climax amid the frenzy of great religious processions. Among Indian processions, that of Jagannáth stands first; and although the number of suicides, as registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials, has always been insignificant, and could at most occur but once a year, their fame made a deep impression upon early travellers. I have compiled an index to all such recorded cases,[277] and I find that the travellers who have had the most terrible stories to tell are the very

[274] Chap. xliv. vol. iv. p. 413, ed. 1788.

[275] Compare the Christian candour of Milman, Hist. Christ. ii. 309 (1867), and more briefly Hist. Latin Christ. i. 237 (1867), with the somewhat malicious minuteness of Gibbon, ii. 300–304, ed. 1781.

[276] In Sanskrit, Kálidás.

[277] By Oderic, A.D. 1331; Conti, *circ.* 1400; the Persian Haft Iklim, MS. *circ.* 1550; Early Travels in India, 1565; Manrique, 1612; Bruton, 1632; Hamilton, 1708; Cubero, Murray, etc. It is not necessary for me to enter into the question whether Jagannáth-worship spread over all India

ones whose narratives prove that they went entirely by hearsay, and could not possibly have themselves seen the Car Festival.

I am inclined to think, however, that the Vishnuvite reformation of the sixteenth century in Orissa[278] purged Jagannáth of a multitude of Sivaite rites. These rites everywhere involve the outpouring of blood; and a drop of blood spilt within the Purí Temple would now pollute its whole precincts, with the priests, the worshippers, and the consecrated food. Yet it was not always so, as a Musalmán writer attests.[279] 'In the temple,' he says, 'the Hindus inflict on themselves terrible wounds, or cut out their tongues; but if they rub their gashes on the idol, the wounds heal up.' Such practices had certainly ceased in 1580, when Fazl wrote; and the only vestige of them that now survives is the midnight sacrifice once a year to the stainless wife[280] of the All-Destroyer, in a shrine apart from the Temple, but within the sacred enclosure. Jagannáth has, in short, paid the penalty of his constant compromises with the viler phases of Hinduism. He has included every deity within his walls, and he has been held responsible for the accumulated abominations of all. The innocent garden excursion of the Buddhists grew into a frenzied procession among a people who reckoned life cheap, and the misrepresentations of the Muhammandans have conspired, with the credulity of travellers and the piety of missionaries, to

from Purí, or whether, as seems most likely, a number of forms of the same worship, at first existing independently in many parts of India, have gradually been assimilated to the Purí model. But the facts which point to the former view are numerous and striking. Cf., for the spread of Vishnu-worship into the distant Province of Assam, Calc. Rev. p. 96, vol. xlvi.

[278] 1485–1527. See *ante*, 106.

[279] The author of the *Haft Iklim*, a Persian MS. of the time of Akbar, kindly examined for me by Prof. Blochmann.

[280] Bimalá.

make the name of Jagannáth synonymous with organized self-slaughter. But the historian cannot help contrasting the facts as calmly recorded on the spot, with the popular representations of English literature. 'During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony,' writes the Commissioner of Orissa, not long after the Province passed under our rule, 'three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred; one of which, I may observe, is doubtful, and should probably be ascribed to accident. In the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burthen of life, in preference to other modes of suicide.'[281] Dr. Claudius Buchanan witnessed the Car Festival of 1806, but even his clerical denunciations do not record a single case of self-slaughter (Diary, 20th June 1806).

I have gone over the MS. archives from the day we obtained Orissa, and I can bear witness to the general truth of these words. Compare with them the Jagannáth of George Cruickshank's pencil, as described by the great humorist and moralist of our day:[282] 'It is called the Gin Jagannáth, and represents a hideous moving palace, with a reeking still at the roof, and vast gin-barrels for wheels, *under which unhappy millions are crushed to death.* An immense black cloud of desolation covers over the country through which the gin monster has passed, dimly looming through the darkness whereof you see an agreeable prospect of gibbets with men dangling, burnt houses, etc. The vast cloud comes sweeping on in the wake of the horrible body-crusher.' Or let a minor artist speak: 'The Jagannáth on his

[281] Stirling, As. Res. xv. p. 324. Serampur, 1825.

[282] Thackeray's Critical Reviews. Works, vol. xxii. p. 302, ed. 1869.

great car towered there a grim load. Seeing him draw nigh, burying his broad wheels in the oppressed soil, I, the prostrate votary, felt beforehand the annihilating craunch.'[283] We complain that the Hindus do not appreciate our English institutions or accept our beliefs. Do we rightly understand theirs?

The City of Temples and the Metropolis of Priests, on the two opposite sides of the Province, attest the piety of the Orissa Kings. Cattack, their central capital, just below the gorge through which the Mahánadí issues upon the plains, formed an entrepot for the trade between the Delta and the hill country, and repressed the warlike highland races. But a fourth great city flourished under the Hindu dynasties, and Tamluk, now an inland river village of Bengal, formed the maritime capital of Orissa. One local legend relates how its kings conquered the latter Province in pre-historic times, and gave their name to a great District within it; while a later tradition ascribes the foundation of Tamluk to the monarchs of Morbhanj,[284] the largest and most powerful of the Orissa Tributary States. Certain it is that a most intimate connection subsisted between the two. The first king of Tamluk bore the title of 'The Peacock-Banner,'[285] and begat a long line of thirty-two princes of the warrior caste.[286] This dynasty bore the heraldic

[283] Charlotte Brontë's *Villette*, p. 475, ed. 1867.

[284] Properly spelt Mayur-bhanj, ruled by the Peacock-Family. See Statistical Account of the Tributary States, App. IV. Also chap. vii. of vol. ii.

[285] Mayurdhaj and Sikhidhwaj.

[286] Kshattriyas, all bearing Aryan names, and apparently representing a very early Aryan migration, who spread through Bengal into Orissa, colonizing Tamluk on their way, and thus supplying a basis for the first of the traditions mentioned above. I have collected the local legends and dynastic lists of Tamluk, by means of a Pandit whom I sent into that part of the country.

device of the Peacock exactly as the Morbhanj family does at the present day, and it was succeeded by another line of four Peacock Kings who invaded Tamluk from the Morbhanj State, thus giving rise to the later legend. The great District of Midnapur now stretches between Tamluk and the Morbhanj State; but the heraldic bird of the latter, the Peacock, still surmounts the Temple at Tamluk, and the Morbhanj Rájás long retained property in the intermediate tract.[287]

Tamluk figures as a kingdom of great antiquity in the sacred writings of the Hindus, and has been identified with the wars of the epic poems.[288] But the Sanskrit annalists had an unconquerable aversion to facts, and no practical knowledge can be elicited from them about Tamluk, except that it existed. It is as a Buddhist port that Tamluk emerges upon history. The Chinese pilgrim[289] who visited India in 399–414 A.D. found it a maritime settlement of the Buddhists, where he remained for two years transcribing the sacred books, and whence he took shipping to Ceylon. Two hundred and fifty years later, a yet more celebrated pilgrim from China[290] speaks of Tamluk as still an important Buddhist harbour, with ten Buddhist monasteries, a thousand monks, and a pillar by King Asoka, two hundred feet high. The adjacent country lay low, but its extreme fertility

[287] The Parganá of Nayábhúshan belonged to them in 1852, and, so far as I know, still does. Mr. H. V. Bayley's MS. Memo. on Midnapur, dated 7th January 1852, p. 24. O. R.

[288] Supposed to be referred to as Ratnávatí in the Kasidás, or Bengal, recension of the Mahábhárata, Aswamedh-parva. The local name of Ratnávatí still survives at Tamluk, with a modern legend to explain it.

[289] Fa Hian; translated into French by M. Remusat, and thence into English by Mr. Laidley. Calcutta, 1848.

[290] Hiouen Thsang, 629–645 A.D. Vie par Stanislaus Julien, p. 183. Paris, 1853.

made up for its damp, marshy character. Tamluk itself, 'situated on a bay, could be approached both by land and water, and contained stores of rare and precious merchandise, and a wealthy population. Some of them follow the true faith; others the false. Besides the Buddhist monasteries, there are also fifty temples of the heretical Hindu gods.'[291] Here the pilgrim learnt about Ceylon, and the perils of the southern voyage. I have already mentioned that the Yavana colonization of the Indian Archipelago probably started from Tamluk in the first century A.D., and the Asoka pillar alluded to by the Chinese pilgrim attests its existence in the third century B.C. Even at this day, the ancient Buddhist port of Orissa bears traces of its origin. In 1781 an English official reported a local tradition to Government, 'that Tamluk was originally a Buddhist town, and a large emporium of eastern trade, and had many fine monasteries. It is said that there are some Hindus there who bury their dead after the Buddhist (and Yavana) fashion.'[292]

Even after the final triumph of Hinduism over the ancient Buddhistic faith, Tamluk continued an entrepot for maritime trade. The sea-going castes asserted their supremacy, and on the extinction of the Peacock Dynasty placed a line of Fisher-Kings[293] on the throne. The first[294] of this family also came from Orissa, and settled four

[291] Documents Géographiques, p. 450. The kingdom of Tamluk was then about two hundred and fifty miles in circumference.

[292] Mr. Vansittart's Report of 1871. Mr. H. V. Bayley's MS. Memorandum, p. 128. O. R.

[293] Kaibarttas.

[294] By name Kálu Bhuyá, whose twenty-fifth descendant now holds the Ráj, according to a list drawn up for me on the spot. But a list referred to by Mr. Bayley makes the list much longer, the forty-second of the line dying in 1404, and the forty-eighth being deposed in 1654. MS. Memo. p. 129. O. R.

hundred families of his Orissa kindred on the royal lands. The new dynasty, as usual, set up a new worship, and Tamluk has a legend of the finding of its god, framed on exactly the same basis as the Purí tradition of the discovery of Jagannáth, with the changes in scenery and costume necessary for a maritime people. As, in the jungly district of Southern Orissa, the deity who afterwards obtained the devotion of the Hindus was originally the forest god of a poor Fowler; so in the seaboard tract of Northern Orissa, now Bengal, the deity[295] who became supreme was the goddess of a poor fisherman. In the first case it was a block of wood, in the second a block of stone: in both there is a legend of its being worshipped in secret by its original low-caste owner, with its subsequent discovery by the Aryans; and in both the Hindu priests eventually stuck arms and legs into the shapeless wooden or monolithic stump. In both, the miraculously found deity became an object of pilgrimage. Orissa and its maritime capital (now in Bengal) alike formed centres of Buddhism, and were originally hateful to the Bráhmans; but under the new religion, texts were invented or interpolated to give an ancient sanctity to both.[296] The very name of Tamluk,[297] which bears witness to its ancient

[295] Barga-bhímá, now identified with Kálí or Pathu Párvatí, as the Purí block became Jagannáth.

[296] As regards Orissa, see beginning of this chapter. As regards Tamluk, 'Ahante kathayishyámi yatra nasyati pátakan; Asti Bháratbarshasya dakshínasyán, mahápurin; Támraliptasya kastasyán gurhan tírthavaran baset; Tatra snátwá chiradeva samyak yasyeti matpurin.' 'I will tell you where your sins will be destroyed. There is a great place of pilgrimage on the south of India, an ablution in which saves a man from his sins.'

[297] Its Sanskrit name, as written by my Pandit, and the Brahmánda Purána, and other writings which he quotes, is Tamolipta, which he derives from Tamas + lipta, literally, stained with darkness or sin. But a legend relates that it took its name from the fact that Vishnu, in the form of Kalki, having got very hot in destroying the demons, dropped perspiration at this fortunate spot, which accordingly became stained with the holy sweat (or dirt)

degradation, has been converted by a legendary interpretation into a title of honour; and in spite of the remarkable fewness of Bráhmans in the neighbourhood, of the overwhelming population of low-caste fishermen,[298] and of its long subjection to Fisher-Kings, Tamluk has become a place of pilgrimage.

Most of the Tamluk legends, however, refer to making money; and appropriately enough in a commercial maritime city, water has generally something to do with the process. A great merchant, by name the Lord of Wealth,[299] sailing in his ships to Tamluk, found a well or lake that turned everything into gold. He accordingly bought up all the brass vessels in the market, transmuted them into the precious metal, sailed to Ceylon, where he sold them to the natives, and returning, built the great Tamluk temple which is generally ascribed to the first of the Fisher-Kings. Another sea-going merchant found the Philosopher's Stone, probably foreign commerce; and his wealth attracted the envy of the king, who insisted upon its being made over to him. The upshot of the story is, that the diligent trader could not transfer the source of

of the god. The word appears in the itineraries of the Buddhist pilgrims from China as Tan-mo-li-ti, derived by M. Julien and General Cunningham from the Páli form of the Sanskrit Támralipta, which I find is also explained by a local tradition, that a Kshattriya king of the náme of Támradhwaj (literally Copper-Banner) once reigned there. Tamolipta is the name which the Bengali Dictionary, *Sabdártha Ratnamálá*, gives for Tamluk, and it is the correct Sandhi product of its component parts, tamas + lipta.

[298] The details of Tamluk, and its curious temple with triple walls, will be given in my Statistical Account of Midnapur, to which District Tamluk now belongs. My Pandit remarks the fewness of Bráhmans. The Kaibartta, or Fisher-caste, numbers from seven thousand to eight thousand families. They cultivate land, engage in commerce, act as petty officials, and, in short, constitute almost the whole of the population.

[299] Dhanapati. His son Srímanta was also a distinguished navigator to Ceylon; and besides the local traditions which my Pandit has picked up at Tamluk, their voyages are celebrated by an old Bengali poem, the Kavi-Kankan-Chandí.

his riches to the slothful monarch; the shipowner was drowned, and the king found himself no richer than before. Indigo, mulberry, and silk, the costly products of Bengal and Orissa, form the traditional articles of export from ancient Tamluk; and although the sea has long since left it, the town continued until 1869 the great maritime outlet from Orissa. In 635 B.C. the Chinese traveller found the city washed by the ocean; the earliest Hindu tradition places the sea eight miles off, and it is now fully sixty miles distant. The process of land-making at the mouths of the Ganges has gone slowly but steadily on, gradually pushing out silt-banks and sandy ridges, which by degrees have settled into solid land, and left Tamluk an inland village on the Rúpnáráyan River. The peasants, in digging wells or tanks, come upon sea-shells at a depth of ten to twenty feet; and an almost forgotten name of the town, the Mine of Gems,[300] alone commemorates its former wealth. The constant changes of the river, and its all-covering alluvion, have buried the ancient city. Even its principal temple is now partly underground, and the remains of old masonry, wells, and houses may be found at a depth of eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface.[301]

Although finally transferred in 1725 to Bengal, Tamluk bears witness to its ancient connection with Orissa by its legends, by its local customs, and by its vernacular speech. The District which separates it still retains the name of the Middle Country;[302] and although we have introduced Bengali as the language of official

[300] Ratnákar.

[301] I trust for these measurements to the Pandit, Nabin Chandra Bandopádhyáya, whom I sent to make investigations. I would also express my obligations to Babu Jádab Chandra Ghosh, late Deputy-Collector of Tamluk.

[302] Madhyades, now the District of Midnapur.

life, a mixed *patois* and a compound written character of Bengali and Uriyá until very recently prevailed in Tamluk. Many Orissa idioms survive, and the surnames of the people bear witness to their Orissa origin.[303] The children in some village schools[304] of Midnapur District learn Bengali in the morning, and Uriyá in the afternoon. They still adhere to the Orissa Almanac, counting the last day of the Bengali month as the first of the next one, and beginning their new year according to the Orissa style.[305] Until 1869, when the Kendrápárá Canal opened out the Orissa seaboard, Tamluk continued to monopolize by a long land route through Midnapur the whole exports of Orissa, although it had ceased to be able to send them out to sea.[306]

The ruin of Tamluk as a seat of maritime commerce affords an explanation of how the Bengalis ceased to be a sea-going people. In the Bhuddist era they sent warlike fleets to the east and the west, and colonized the islands of the Archipelago. Even Manu, in his inland centre of Bráhmanism at the far north-west, while forbidding such enterprises, betrays the fact of their existence. He makes a difference in the hire[306½] of river boats and of

303 For example, Mahápátra, Behárá, Jáná, Máhanti (Máiti), Patnáik, Pandá, Sámanta, Sántrá, etc., all of which are Uriyá. Some Kaibartta settlements from Tamluk have imported these family names into the 24 Parganás, and as high as Huglí or even Bardwán.

304 Pátsálás. Our system of Public Instruction is rapidly destroying such local distinctions.

305 Thus, when Baisákh has thirty days, they count the 30th Baisákh as the 1st of Jyaistha; and their year ends on the twelfth day of the Srában moon, as in Orissa, and not on the last of Chaitra, as in Bengal.

306 It formed part of Jaleswar Sarkár under the early Muhammadans. Murshid Kulí Khán annexed Midnapur from Orissa to Bengal in 1706. Jaleswar Sarkár was divided into four sub-districts—Jaleswar Proper, Maljhetiya, Mazkuri, and Goálpárá, to which latter Tamluk anciently belonged. In 1728 it formed part of Huglí. Mr. Bayley's MS. Memorandum, pp. 92, 128, etc.

306½ Cap. iv. Sloka, 406. Calc. Ed.

sea-going ships, and admits that the advice of 'merchants experienced in making voyages on the sea, and in observing different countries,' may be of use to priests and kings. But such voyages were associated chiefly with the Buddhist era, and became alike hateful to the Bráhmans and impracticable to a deltaic people, whose harbours were left high and dry by the land-making rivers and the receding sea. Religious prejudices combined with the changes of nature to make the Bengalis unenterprising upon the ocean. But what they have been, they may under a higher civilisation again become. The unwarlike Armenians whom Lucullus and Pompey blushed to conquer, supplied, seven centuries later, the heroic troops who annihilated the Persian monarchy in the height of its power.[307] To any one acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impatience ever to despair of a people; and in maritime courage, as in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal have a new career before them under British rule.

The foregoing sketch of Orissa under Native rule has occupied itself chiefly with the incoming of new races from the north, and with the rise and fall of their successive creeds. The wars and ambitions of princes dwindle into their proper insignificance when viewed through a vista stretching backwards two thousand years. Those to whom a list of kings and dates may be useful, will find them set forth with the utmost attainable precision in the Appendix. The silt of the Delta has long ago buried the palaces of the monarchs, but it has spared the temples of their gods. Rightly to understand the intensely religious, or, as some might call it, the superstitious nature of the Orissa peasant, and the

[307] Under the Byzantine Heraclius, 623-625 A.D.

monastic institutions which still cover the Province, we must remember that his sole monuments of the past are the edifices of his deities, and that the whole background of time is for him filled up with dim august revolutions of creeds. I propose, however, before entering upon the next stage of Orissa history, very briefly to exhibit the statistics and resources of the Province under the two dynasties whose works this chapter has described.

Whatever may have been the extent of the mythical realm of Kalinga which stretched down the coast from the Huglí to the Godávarí, Orissa under the Lion-Line (474–1132 A.D.) pretended to much more modest dimensions. It formed a strip of about 185 miles long by 60 broad, extending from the Kánsbáns River, a little to the south of Balasor City,[308] to the Rasakuliá River in Ganjám District, and inland from the sea to the Tributary State of Dhenkánal. This little kingdom of eleven thousand square miles included all the richest part of the present Province, and yielded a revenue of £406,250 a year.[309] The founder of the

[308] For the position of the Kánsbáns, see my Statistical Account of Balasor, Appendix II. p. 35.

[309] Expressed in the Palm-leaf Records as fifteen lakhs of Márhas. (Purúshottama Chandriká, 36–40. See also As. Res. xv. 271.) My calculation is as follows: The Márha was an Uriyá weight equal to one-fourth of a Karishá; therefore, 4 márhas = 1 karishá; 1 karishá = 1 tolá; 1 tolá of silver = 1 rupee. Fifteen lakhs or márhas therefore equal (1,500,000 ÷ 4) 375,000 tolás or rupee-weights of gold. For ascertaining the ratio of gold to silver in Orissa in the twelfth century, no materials exist. General Cunningham informs me, however, that in the thirteenth century, under Jalál-ud-dín and Alá-ud-dín, the proportion in Hindustán was 1 of gold to 10 of silver. Under Akbar in the sixteenth century, the official ratio at the mint was 1 to 9·4. (Abul Fazl. See also the elaborate and now conclusive proofs in The Pathán Kings of Delhi, by Mr. Edward Thomas, late C.S., p. 424. 1871.) In the seventeenth century it again returned to 1 to 10 (Purchas. i. 217); and as the East India Company poured in its yearly freights of silver, the proportion gradually rose in the eighteenth century to 1 to 14. Sir James Steuart speaks

Vishnuvite or Gangetic Dynasty in 1132 added to it his paternal southern domain, from the Godávarí River northwards to Orissa. This strip had, as we have seen, formed the maritime part of the kingdom of Proli; the inland mountainous region having been granted away to his brother.[810] The first of the Gangetic line also extended Orissa on the northwards to Tamluk, thereby restoring the limits of the pre-historic kingdom of Kalinga from the Huglí to the Godávarí River. He or his successors afterwards pushed their territory inland to Bod, which still continues the westernmost of the Orissa Tributary States.

This vast kingdom included three distinct tracts: (1) The Central region, comprising the present Province of Orissa, two hundred miles long by one hundred and

of this as the ratio 'hitherto adopted.' (Principles of Money applied to Bengal, privately printed for the East India Company. Small quarto, 1772.) In 1766 the ratio fixed by Government was 2462·88 grains of pure silver to 149·72 grains of pure gold, or 1 of gold to 16·45 of silver. In 1769 the Bengal authorities readjusted it at 2814·72 grains of silver to 190·086 grains of pure gold, or 1 of gold to 14·8 of silver. Both these ratios were, however, severely criticised by Sir James Steuart (1772), and Adam Smith estimates the proportion in India (1784) at 1 to 15. But in the parts of Asia which were not affected by the enormous importation of silver from Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the ratio of gold to silver remained more stationary. In the middle of the last century the value in Japan was 1 to 8, while 'in China and the greater part of the other markets of India, ten, or at most twelve, ounces of silver will purchase an ounce of gold.' (Wealth of Nations, 1784, pp. 95, 97; J. R. M'Culloch's edition.)

All the evidence, therefore, goes to show that the safest ratio to take for gold to silver in India in the twelfth century is 1 to 10. Therefore 1,500,000 marhás, or 375,000 tolás of gold, equal 3,750,000 tolás or rupee-weights of silver. But the current rupee contains only 165 grains of pure silver instead of a full tolá of 180 grains, and it is necessary to add the difference of $\frac{15}{180}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$, to the sum, in order to get it in current rupees. The revenue of Orissa in the twelfth century under the Lion-line, therefore, was 3,750,000 plus $\frac{1}{12}$ = Rs. 4,602,500, or, at the nominal exchange of two shillings per rupee, £406,250. It is possible that the value of gold, as expressed in silver, was less in Orissa, whose rivers produced gold, than in Upper India; but 1 to 10 is the safest ratio to adopt.

[810] *Ante*, p. 278.

twenty broad, or twenty-four thousand square miles.[311] (2) The narrow strip, with the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, running south from the Chilká Lake to the Godávarí,[312] three hundred miles in length, with an average of forty in breadth, and an area of twelve thousand square miles. (3) On the opposite or northern extremity, the kingdom extended to the Huglí; that is to say, it embraced the present District of Midnapur, a tract of three thousand five hundred square miles.[313] Orissa, therefore, under the Gangetic Dynasty (1132–1532 A.D.), consisted of three Provinces, consisting respectively of 3,500, 23,907, and 12,000 square miles, according to British surveys, or a total of 39,407 square miles. The third monarch of the line, between 1175 and 1202 A.D., measured his kingdom with reeds[314] 'from the Huglí to the Godávarí, and from the sea to the frontier of Sonpur.' About 1820, at a time when we did not ourselves know the extent of the country, the British Commissioner converted the native survey of the twelfth century into English measures, and gave the result at forty thousand square miles. Recent surveys return the total at 39,407! Such marvellous accuracy bears witness, along with the survey of Todar Mall in the sixteenth century, to the immemorial skill of the Hindus in land measurements.

This vast kingdom yielded a nominal revenue of

[311] The exact area is 23,907 square miles.

[312] The southern capital of the early princes of the Gangetic Line was Rájmahendri on the latter river.

[313] The exact area of the present Midnapur District is 4836 square miles, but it includes several Fiscal Divisions that belonged to Bengal and not to Orissa. The early Uriyá part is, as nearly as may be, 3500 square miles.

[314] *Nal*, still used in Eastern Bengal, a measure which varies in length in proportion as the marshes of the Delta are deeper or shallower, and the reeds which grow in them longer or shorter.

£947,917[315] a year; but the southern part of it, which stretched down the coast from Orissa Proper to the Godávarí, gave endless trouble, and was a source of weakness rather than of strength. As early as 1164 A.D.[316] the Southern Strip rebelled, and a century and a half later the Orissa Kings had to call in the aid of the rising Muhammadan power[317] to subdue their refractory southern vassals. One monarch of the Gangetic Line was taken captive and beheaded in the attempt. Nevertheless, the Orissa princes continued to exercise supremacy down the maritime strip until the beginning of the sixteenth century. They built temples, gave grants of land to Bráhmans, and left their names in the local lists of kings as far south as the Godávarí.[318] The revenue-yielding part, or Orissa Proper, was substantially the same size as at present. But although the southern strip along the Madras coast did not pay, the claims to it were fondly cherished; and a southern expedition forms the stock incident in the reign of almost all great monarchs of the Gangetic Line, from its commencement in 1132 to its extinction in 1532. But the records of the struggle yield nothing of interest to the historian, and the native annalists have enveloped

315 3,500,000 márhas of gold. Purúshottama Chandriká, and As. Res. xv.

316 Under Ala Raddi, in the neighbourhood of Kondapalli. Mackenzie MSS. vol. xii., in the As. Soc. Library, Calcutta. Vol. xii. is one of the unpaged folios. Would that some young Civilian would take in hand these invaluable MSS.!

317 Mackenzie MSS. *ut supra*, vol. xv. pp. 325 to 329. Mr. Elphinstone gives a slightly different account, and puts the event earlier than these MSS., I think with good ground, p. 396, ed. 1866. See also Ferishta, *apud* As. Res. xv. 278, etc.

318 The Telingá MSS., translated by Mr. Blake in 1803, contain a list of the Gajapati or Orissa Kings. The Orissa monarch, Purúshottama Deva (1479–1504 A.D.), built the temple at Sinháchalam. The son of the preceding king, Kapilendra Deva (1452–1479 A.D.), had carried the war inland to the mountains of Kimidi, and attached them to Orissa.

the whole in a mist of exaggeration and falsehood. They gravely relate that the last of the Gangetic Line[319] led a great force to the narrow straits which divide India from Ceylon.

A narrative of confused and miscellaneous fighting is not history.[320] Three centuries of expeditions to the southward have left but a single story worth preserving. The King of Orissa, Purúshottama Deva (1479–1504 A.D.), having heard of the beauty of the Lotus-Eyed daughter of the Conjevaram Prince, sent a rich embassy to ask her in marriage. But the Conjevaram monarch worshipped another god,[321] and swore that he never would give his daughter to the Orissa King who acted as sweeper before Jagannáth. So the Orissa Prince gathered his armies together, and marched southward to lay siege to Conjevaram; but his troops fled in the battle, and he came back in sorrow to Purí, and threw himself at the feet of his god. Then the good Lord Jagannáth had pity on him, and told him to lead another army to the southwards, and that a sure sign would be given him. Hearing this, he rose up hastily, and again called his captains together, and they marched southwards, praising the Lord of the World. And as they marched they looked out for the sure sign; but no sign was given them, until the hearts of the captains and of the companies began to sink within them.

[319] Raja Pratáb Rudra Deo (1504–1532 A.D.). He is popularly called the last, as his two sons Káluyá and Katháruyá only reigned a year apiece.

[320] The obscure revolutions and uninstructive struggles on the southern strip between Orissa and the Godávarí are set forth in a desultory way, but with many interesting details, in the Mackenzie MSS.; more succinctly in the Purúshottama Chandriká, and, so far as his materials permitted, in Stirling's admirable Essay, As. Res. xv. Stirling's list of kings is defective, but a complete one will be found in Appendix VII.

[321] Ganesa.

Yet the King believed that the good Lord Jagannáth would not forget his servants. And one evening, as he halted on the banks of the Chilká near the boundary of his kingdom, pondering on many things, a maiden suddenly stood before him with a ring in her hand. 'This ring,' she said, 'the good god sends to thee, O Prince! Two horsemen, one on a black steed, the other on a white, gave it to me for thee, and rode on to the southwards.' Then the King knew that Jagannáth had remembered his servant, and that the two riders were the good Lord himself and his brother.

So the captains with their companies marched southwards glad of heart, and after sore war they put to flight the Conjevaram King who worshipped another god, and took his daughter captive. But the Orissa Prince, in his wrath at the slaughter of his people and the contempt shown to the good Lord Jagannáth, swore that the lady should be married to a real sweeper, and commanded his minister to wed her to a slave. Yet the soldiers, when they saw her beauty, forgot their dead comrades and their own wounds, and had pity on her, and said, 'Surely this lady is fit even for our lord the King; surely our lord does foolishly to make her a scavenger's wife.' But the old minister spoke not a word, waiting patiently till the time of Lord Jagannáth's Procession should come round; and meanwhile he kept the Princess shut up with the ladies of his own palace. When the Summer Festival was come, the good Lord Jagannáth sat aloft in his Car, with the priests and the people thronging round, singing his praises and blessing him, and tugging at the ropes; and the King humbly swept the dust off the road in front of the god who had given him the victory. Then the aged minister brought forth the maiden, and placing her

side by side with the King in the face of all the people, said, 'Take, oh my King, her whom the good Lord Jagannáth has sent. My lord swore in his wrath that I should marry the maiden to a sweeper of the street, and I give her to thee, my King.' So the King wedded the maiden, and signs and wonders attended their married life. But the queen died young, and her son, a man of great wisdom, reigned in his father's stead.

Under this son[322] (1504–1532) the fortunes of the Gangetic house culminated. Besides his mythical expedition southwards to the narrow seas which separate India from Ceylon, he has left architectural monuments at the two extremities of Orissa,[323] and the final extirpation of Buddhism belongs to his reign. In his earlier years he leaned to the Buddhist Creed, and the Palm-leaf Records relate the disputations and trials of magical skill by which the Bráhman priests at length converted him to their faith. We have already seen how, under his reign, that great stirring of the popular heart took place which ended in the Vishnuvite reformation.[324] For twelve years the holy Chaitanya preached the new creed, silenced the sluggish Sivaite priesthood, and strove with spiritual weapons against the King himself, till the monarch forgot the pomp of his throne in the humility of a disciple. In 1527 the apostle was mysteriously rapt away from mortal sight, and five years later his royal convert followed him.

His death in 1532 marks the end of the Gangetic Line. Of the thirty-two sons whom he left behind, two succeeded, for a year apiece, to a throne which

322 Pratáb Rudra Deo.

323 His most important building was the Baráha Temple at Jájpur.

324 *Ante*, p. 106.

brought only a more conspicuous and more speedy death. The minister murdered sooner or later every male member of the family, and seized the kingdom.[325] The Muhammadans, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, had long been oppressing Orissa, now closed in upon the usurper and his successors. After twenty-four years of confusion, the fierce Afghán Kálá Pahár swept like a wave across the Province, throwing down the temples, smashing the idols, driving Jagannáth himself to hide his head in the slime of the Chilká, and exterminating the last of the independent dynasties of Orissa.

Practically, the revenue-paying parts of Orissa under the Gangetic Dynasty stretched from the Huglí to the Chilká, and from the sea to the Tributary States; a compact territorial entity of twenty-four thousand square miles. The Province continues the same size to this day, having lost three thousand square miles on the north, towards the Huglí, and gained about an equal extent on the west, towards Central India. In the twelfth century, when the Gangetic Line obtained the kingdom, it yielded a revenue of £406,250[326] a year. Besides the doubtful southern strip, they added 12,000 square miles of unproductive Hill Territory; and when in the sixteenth century they sunk beneath the Musalmáns, the revenue remained about £435,000. An early Muhammadan geographer of the sixteenth century gives the income of the parts of Orissa already subjugated by

[325] A.D. 1534.

[326] 1,500,000 márahs of gold. See note 309, p. 316. That is to say, at the close of the Sivaite Dynasty. The area was only 11,000 square miles; but of the territory since added to it to make up the present Province, about 12,000 square miles are Hill States paying a tribute of only about £6000 a year. The few hundred square miles added on the north in Balasor are more productive, and the total revenue of the Province may now be put down at £450,000.

the Musalmán arms at £368,333;[327] and the official survey made by Akbar's minister, *circ.* 1580, gives the entire revenue of the Province, including the tribute from the Hill States, at £435,319.[328] As the Muhammadans more firmly established their power, they gradually increased the taxation, and in the seventeenth century a detailed list of the Orissa Fiscal Divisions shows a revenue of £537,495.[329] However the revenues might be deranged from year to year by tumult or rebellion, the nominal demand remained the same in the Imperial Account-Books; and the Père Thieffenthaler, amid the Marhattá anarchy of the eighteenth century, was still informed that the Province yielded £570,750.[330]

The revenue under the Gangetic Line (1132–1532 A.D.), its last independent dynasty, may therefore be set down at £435,000 a year from the twenty-four thousand square miles of Orissa Proper. The southern strip had long ceased to yield any income to the Orissa Kings. The present Province, comprising an equal area, yields to the British Government, in round numbers, £450,000.[331] But while the actual revenue remains about the same, its purchasing power has completely altered. Under the

[327] Sicca Rupees 3,400,000, or Company's Rupees 3,683,333. *Haft Iklim*, a Persian MS., *apud* Professor Blochmann.

[328] 160,733,237 dams, which, at the official rates of conversion under Akbár, equal Sicca Rupees 4,018,330, or Company's Rupees 4,353,191. Prinsep's Tables; Thomas' Pathán Kings; As. Res. xv.

[329] Sicca Rupees 4,961,497, or Company's Rupees 5,374,955, under Sháh Jahán, 1627–1658. As. Res. xv. 213.

[330] *Selon Manouchi.* As. Res. xv. 212. This sum may possibly have included outstanding arrears. Mr. Stirling, without stating any grounds, conjectures that it included also the revenue of the Northern Circars; but such a conjecture is opposed to the historical facts of the time, and to the recorded statistics about the Orissa revenue.

[331] The area is 23,907 square miles, but it has lost the fertile tract towards the Huglí, and received in place of it an addition to its hill territory. In 1870 the total revenue was £464,861, but this included the extraordinary income-tax. £450,000 is a fair average in round numbers.

native dynasty, it sufficed to maintain a gorgeous Court, a vast army, innumerable trains of priests, and to defray the magnificent public works of the Gangetic Kings. Under the English it barely pays the cost of administering the Province. The charges for collecting the revenue and protecting person and property amount to £339,696; the interest on one of the local public works, the Orissa Canals, comes to £65,000 a year;[332] a single native regiment at Cattack costs £17,000; and a petty balance of £28,000 is all that remains over after paying the merely local charges of holding the Province. Orissa contributes scarcely anything to the general expense of government. It does not pay its share of interest on the public debt; it contributes nothing to the cost of defending the Empire; and hardly does more than support the charges of the local administration. Under the native dynasty, the same revenue sufficed to support an administration infinitely more minute, and, as regards its higher officials, infinitely higher paid. None of the English governing body in Orissa ever hopes to make a fortune; under the Hindu Princes, Government employ was synonymous with assured opulence. Sixteen great Ministers regulated the kingdom, with seventy-two Deputies, and thirty-six separate Departments of State. Under the English, the revenue of Orissa with difficulty maintains seven hundred sepoys; under the Hindu Princes it supported, besides a peasant militia of 300,000 men, a regular army of 50,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 2500 elephants. About a vast militia being attached to the soil there can be no doubt; and if Hindu chroniclers have magnified the number of the regular troops, we know from the Musalmán annalists, that the Orissa King could at a moment's

[332] 1¼ millions sterling had already been spent on 31st March 1871.

warning take the field with 18,000 horse and foot. But the Public Works of the Hindu Dynasty attest the magnitude of their resources in a way that admits of no dispute. Thirty or forty thousand pounds were not considered extravagant for an ordinary temple. The accumulations of one monarch[333] are stated at £1,296,750,[334] and from this he set apart £406,250[335] for the holy edifice of Jagannáth. A similar magnificence surrounded the private life of the Orissa Kings. Their five royal residences (*kataks*) still live in popular tradition; and although the story of the Prince[336] who died just as he had married his sixty-thousandth wife is doubtless a fable, yet it is a fable that could only be told of a great and luxurious court.

How came it that the same amount of revenue which made the Orissa Kings so rich, now leaves the English governors of the Province so poor? I have already shown that the great influx of silver which European trade poured into India, so decreased the value of that metal that it sank from 1-10th the value of gold in the twelfth century, to 1-14th or 1-15th six hundred years later. But even this decrease would not explain the affluence of the Hindu rulers of Orissa as compared with the poverty of the English. It is when we consider the value of silver as expressed, not in gold, but in food, that the explanation becomes clear. Nothing like a regular record of prices under the Gangetic Dynasty (1132–1532) exists. But fortunately the maximum price of food during the great famines which in almost each generation decimated Orissa, have come down to us, with the

[333] Rájá Anang Bhim Deo. [334] 4,788,000 márhas of gold.

[335] 1,500,000 márhas of gold. Purúshottama Chandriká. As. Res. xv.

[336] Purúshottama, in the Solar List of Kings, described on a previous page.

proportion which those prices bore to the ordinary rates. In the famine at the beginning of the fourteenth century, unhusked paddy rose to sixty times its average rate, and sold from six and eightpence to nine shillings per hundredweight.[337] In the next century, under King Kapilendra (1452–1479 A.D.), paddy rose to 62½ times the ordinary price, and fetched from 6s. 11½d. to 9s. 11d. per hundredweight.[338] Stirling, one of our first Commissioners in Orissa, obtained an ancient paper showing the exact rates under the Gangetic Dynasty. According to it, unhusked paddy sold from just under a penny to 1⅞

[337] The following calculation, the first of the kind in Lower Bengal history, is submitted with diffidence to Indian statisticians. While I believe that the data here collected are absolutely correct, it will be seen that several elements of uncertainty exist. In the famine at the beginning of the fourteenth century, paddy rose to 120 *káhans* per *bharan*. The Orissa bharan will be found fully explained in my Stat. Acc. of Purí, App. I. p. 16. The paddy bharan contains nominally about 9½, but practically 9 cwt. A káhan is 1280 cowries, and 4 káhans, or 5120 cowries, were taken as the official rate of exchange per rupee when we first obtained Orissa (1803). Afterwards this rate was complained of, on the ground that a rupee cost 6 or 7 káhans instead of 4; and this formed one of the alleged causes of the Khurdhá rebellion in 1817. (Mr. Commissioner Ewers' Report to Chief Secretary to Government, dated Cattack, 13th May 1818, para. 95. O. R.) At present the rate is 3584 cowries to the rupee, the great difference being due to the fall in the value of silver which has rapidly gone on since we obtained Orissa; and so far as I can judge, the rate officially fixed in 1804 of 5120 cowries per rupee was considerably under the actual rate of exchange. 120 káhans per bharan of 9 cwt. would be 6s. 8d. per cwt. at the rate of 4 káhans or 5120 cowries per rupee, thus: 120 káhans = 30 rupees or 60 shillings; and if 60 shillings buy 9 cwt., the price of 1 cwt. will be 6s. 8d. On the other hand, if we take the lower or present rate of exchange at 3584 cowries per rupee, 120 káhans per bharan will equal 9s. 6d. per cwt. If we take the exchange at the alleged old rate of 6 káhans or 7680 cowries to the rupee, which I believe to be nearer the truth, the price would be reduced to 4s. 6d. per cwt. But in this and the following calculations I have taken the rates of exchange which would give the highest possible prices in the fourteenth century, so as to avoid the risk of overstating the rise in prices since then.

[338] 125 káhans per bharan of 9 cwt., *i.e.* 6s. 11½d. at 4 káhans or 5120 cowries per rupee; and 9s. 11d. at the lower rate of exchange of 3584 cowries per rupee.

of a penny per hundredweight,[339] husked rice at 2⅛d. to 3d. per hundredweight,[340] and cotton at from 2s. 1¼d. to 3s. 0¼d. per hundredweight.[341]

From the above calculations we cannot take the price of paddy under the Gangetic Line (1132–1532 A.D.) at above 1½d. per hundredweight. It was probably less. Paddy now costs on the field in Orissa a shilling per hundredweight, or at least eight times its ancient price. An almost equal depreciation in the value of silver has gone on in other parts of India. Thus, in Upper Hindustán, under Alá-ud-dín (1303–1315 A.D.), the officially fixed rate of barley was a little under sixpence per hundredweight,[342] and of peas fourpence halfpenny a hundredweight.[343] In the latter part of the century, under Fíroz Sháh (1351–1388 A.D.), the price of barley remained exactly the same, viz. sixpence per hundredweight.[344] But no sooner did the tide of European trade set in, than the value of silver fell, and at the time of Akbar (1556–1605 A.D.) the price of barley rose to 9½d. per hundredweight.[345] The price of barley in the same localities is

339 Two káhans per bharan of 9 cwt., *i.e.* just under a penny, at 6 káhans per rupee; 1⅛d. at 4 káhans; and 1⅞ of a penny at 3584 cowries per rupee.

340 Ten cowries per Cattack seer of 105 tolás.

341 1 *pan* and 10 *gandas* per seer. If, as seems possible, the rate in ancient times was at six or seven instead of four káhans to the rupee, these prices would be a full third less; and the depreciation in the value of silver would be about one-twelfth instead of one-eighth of its former purchasing power.

342 4 *jítals* per *man*. The jítal was $\frac{1}{64}$ of the silver Tanká of 175 grains; or say $\frac{1}{64}$ of the present rupee, or a farthing and a half. The *man* of that period contained 28·8 lbs. avoirdupois. As barley cost 4 jítals or six farthings per 28·8 lbs., the price was a little under sixpence per cwt. For a full discussion of these weights, see Mr. Thomas' Pathán Kings of Delhi, p. 161, ed. 1871.

343 3 jítals per man.

344 4 jítals per man. Mr. Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 283.

345 8 *dáms* per man. The dám was officially reckoned at $\frac{1}{40}$th of a rupee; the man then contained 55·467 lbs. avoirdupois.

now, on an average, about three and sixpence per hundredweight retail, or seven times what it was throughout the fourteenth century.

We may therefore fairly assume that, as estimated in the staple food of the country, the value of silver in Orissa has fallen to ⅛th of its purchasing power. Wages were regulated then, as now, by the price of rice, and in fact were mostly paid in grain. The Gangetic Dynasty of Orissa (1132–1532 A.D.), with a revenue nominally the same as our own,[346] were therefore, as regards the home products of the country, and their ability to keep up armies and pompous retinues, eight times richer than we are. The reason clearly appears why a revenue which now barely defrays the charge of collection and the cost of protecting person and property, with one or two absolutely necessary public works, formerly supported a great standing army, a wealthy hierarchy of priests and Ministers of State, and a magnificent royal Court. As the native dynasty had practically eight times more revenue to spend than we have, so they practically took eight times more from the people. That is to say, their revenue represented eight times the quantity of the staple food of the Province which our own revenue represents.

The truth is, that a whole series of intermediate rights has grown up between the ruling power and the soil. I shall show in the next volume how the native

[346] The revenue under the Gangetic Line may in round numbers be set down at £435,000, and under the English at £450,000 a year. With regard to the present price of paddy, the people consider eight annas a cheap rate for a Cattack *man*, containing 107 lbs. avoirdupois; or, as nearly as may be, a shilling a hundredweight. This is the rate on the field; and as will be seen in my Statistical Accounts (Appendices I., II., and IV.), the retail price varies in different localities. In Purí District I found that an ordinary rate in good seasons was 210 lbs. for two shillings. In Balasor town the price has varied from 240 lbs. per rupee in 1850, to 140 in 1870. These are the prices of the common sort of unhusked paddy, the staple food of the people.

Kings of Orissa enjoyed the undivided ownership of the land. Instead of a long line of part-proprietors stretching from the Crown to the cultivator, as at present, and each with a separate degree of interest in the soil; the *plenum dominium* was firmly bound up and centred in the hands of the Prince. The growth of these intermediate rights forms the most conspicuous phenomenon in the history of Orissa under its foreign conquerors. For centuries, under the Musalmáns and Marhattas, the unhappy Province knew no government but that of the sword; yet the very roughness of the public administration allowed private rights to spring up unperceived, and to harden into permanent charges upon the soil—charges which its native princes would never have tolerated. Thus from long anarchy and misery a fair growth of rights has blossomed forth, and the magnificence which the Hindu Princes of Orissa concentrated upon themselves, is now distributed in the form of moderate prosperity among a long-descending chain of proprietors, each with his own set of rights in the land.

